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Photo. S. Smith, Lincoln.

STATUE OF ST. HUGH ON N. PINNACLE OF W. FRONT LINCOLN CATHEDRAL (1200-1240).

Photo. S. Smith, Lincoln.

THE SAME RESTORED.

Frontispiece.

ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN

BY
REGINALD MAXWELL WOOLLEY, D.D.
CANON OF LINCOLN AND RECTOR OF MINTING

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INTRODUCTION

WITHIN a generation from the time of St. Hugh's death three different Lives of him were written, and it is on these materials that all subsequent accounts of his life are based.

Within a comparatively short time of his death his fame seems to have been confined largely within his own diocese of Lincoln and his own Order of the Charterhouse. With the spoliation of his shrine in Lincoln Cathedral by Henry VIII, and the consequential suppression of his cult, he became but a hazy memory in England till his name and fame were deservedly rescued from oblivion by the late Canon Perry.

There have been four Lives of him written in modern times.

1. *The Life of St. Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln,* with some account of his Predecessors in the See of Lincoln. By George C. Perry, M.A., Canon of Lincoln. London, John Murray, 1879.
2. *Vie de Saint Hugues, Chartreux, Evêque de Lincoln* (1140–1200), par un religieux de La Grande Chartreuse. Montreuil, 1890.
3. *The Life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln.* Translated from the French Carthusian Life, and edited with large additions, by Herbert Thurston, S.J. London, Burns & Oates, 1898.
4. *Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln.* A short story of one of the makers of Mediæval England. By Charles L. Marson. London, Edward Arnold, 1901.

All four of these Lives are now out of print, and that is one of the reasons which seemed to suggest that there was room for yet another Life.

Of the four Lives enumerated, a word or two may be said. Canon Perry, to whom is due the credit of bringing back the memory of a strikingly beautiful life to Englishmen, has made a good many statements which need correction. The French Life is written chiefly from the point of view of Hugh as one of the flowers of the Carthusian Order, and is therefore in some respects inadequate. Father Thurston's Life, which is much the best of the four, yet contains a great deal of extraneous matter, and is marred by the propaganda spirit which is evident throughout, and by his unnecessarily anti-Anglican spirit. Canon Perry made mistakes, but was not always in the wrong.

I have tried in this Life to tell the plain unvarnished story of St. Hugh's career, avoiding all sentimental enthusiasm, and saying plainly when I think that Hugh was in the wrong. The transparent holiness and simple and courageous honesty of the Saint far outbalance any mistakes he may, being after all but human, have made.

It is necessary to say something about the materials that are extant for a Life of St. Hugh. Within a generation of his death three Lives of him were written and have come down to us, and these three Lives are of exceptional and unusual value.

The first place must be given to the *Magna Vita,** written by Adam, Sub-prior of Eynsham. I do not know of any mediæval Life that can be compared with it for excellence. Adam was a born biographer, and one has to traverse the centuries to find one, Boswell, with whom to compare him.

Indeed, the circumstances under which Adam wrote the Life of his master are curiously similar to those under which James Boswell wrote the life of his

* *Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis.* Edited by the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A. Rolls Series, 1864.

Doctor. Adam, who was Sub-prior of the Abbey of Eynsham, was taken into St. Hugh's household as chaplain and companion three years before the saint's death. He was with Hugh continuously without a break during these three last years. It is obvious that he, like Boswell, took notes of different incidents of which he was a witness with a view to using these notes for the writing of a Life later on. Moreover, he too, like Boswell, made a habit of asking for information as to the details of his master's life during the years previous to his own association with him from those who had been his associates in those earlier years. In addition to this, Hugh was fond of talking about his own life to Adam, and many of the incidents which the latter records he had from Hugh's own lips, questioning him freely as to his subsequent views of some of his earlier acts. A last parallel is found in the way in which an unnamed chaplain (Adam himself) is referred to, sometimes receiving rebuke, just as Boswell figures on occasion unnamed in the Life of Johnson as the recipient of the Doctor's castigation.

The result is a perfect Life. Adam is most careful to inquire into the facts before he records them, and, moreover, carefully records the fact when he has any doubt as to the reliability of the evidence. He is also extraordinarily restrained, in striking contrast to the writers of his time, in his accounts of miraculous occurrences.

The second authority is Gerald of Barri. Gerald has left a *Vita S. Hugonis* containing a list of his miracles, and also says something of Hugh in his *Vita S. Remigii.** Gerald was Archdeacon of Oxford, then in the diocese of Lincoln. During the last three years of the twelfth century he resided in Lincoln, and therefore was in a position to acquire first-rate evidence of the facts which he records, and this

* Both these Lives are to be found in *Giraldus Cambrensis.* Edited by James F. Dimock, vol. vii. Rolls Series, 1877.

is particularly to be borne in mind in the list of miracles which he recounts.

The *Metrical Life of St. Hugh,** a short Life in verse, was written during the episcopate of Hugh of Wells (1209–1235). It is based on Gerald's writings, and the author is unknown. I think it is possible that it is the work of Gerald himself. This Life is chiefly of value for what it tells us of the rebuilding of the cathedral.

With these Lives must be associated the Report of the Commission appointed by the Pope, and presided over by Archbishop Stephen Langton, to inquire into the life and miracles of Hugh when the question arose of his canonization. This document (B.M. Harl. 526, f. 58*b*), which records the evidence of witnesses of his miracles, is of considerable interest and value. It is unhappily incomplete, and has never been printed.

The remaining authorities are secondary, and are based on those already mentioned, though occasionally they record some slight incident independently. They all consist of lections.

1. *Legenda S. Hugonis* (B.M. Lands, 436, ff. 68 ff.). This is a volume of about the year 1300, once belonging to Romsey Abbey in Hampshire, and containing a Life of St. Hugh divided into lessons. It contains also the Lives of many other saints.
2. An imperfect collection of lessons (originally nine) at Oxford (Bodl. Tanner MS., 110, ff. 209 ff.).
3. A series of nine lessons (lacking one) also at Oxford (Bodl. MS. Digby, 57, ff. 16 ff.).

In the sixteenth century some Lives were printed in different collections, chiefly connected with the Carthusian Order. But these are all derived from the *Magna Vita* and have no value in themselves.

* *Metrical Life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. J. F. Dimock, M.A. Lincoln, 1860.

In recent years the present Dean of Wells has written a valuable paper on the circumstances of the foundation of Witham Priory which is of importance as settling the date when Hugh first came to England: "The Foundation Charter of Witham Charterhouse," by the Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Wells (*Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society,* vol. lxiv (1918), pp. 1–28).

A word or two must be said as to the illustrations. The Statue of St. Hugh, on the North Pinnacle of the West Front of Lincoln Cathedral, is probably a portrait statue. It is contemporary with the front, and is not after 1240 at the very latest. The Statue of the Saint, with his Swan, on the tower of St. Mary's, Oxford, is clearly a conventional representation only, and is about the date 1330. The picture of St. Hugh given in Fr. Thurston's book is certainly not of St. Hugh of Lincoln. These two statues are, I believe, the only two ancient statues of him in existence. I am grateful to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for permission to reproduce the second of them. The picture of St. Hugh's burial from the rose window of the great North Transept at Lincoln is reproduced by kind permission from Westlake's *Stained Glass.* It is obviously of his burial, and not, as is sometimes stated, of his translation. The illustration of the present-day interior of Witham Frary Church is from a photograph by A. S. Ashby, of Frome. I am indebted to the Rev. T. Sissmore, Vicar of Witham Frary, for the loan of the old print from which the photograph of the exterior of the church is taken. This photograph, and all the others in the book, were made by Mr. S. Smith, Steephill, Lincoln.

I have added a short index. It is not as full as it might have been, but is, I think, large enough for a book of this kind.

ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

HUGH OF AVALON, to be known in later days as St. Hugh of Lincoln, was born somewhere about the year 1140. The exact date of his birth is not known for certain, but may be calculated in this way. He was about forty years old, we are told, when he was made Prior of Witham, The Prior of the Chartreuse at this time was a very aged man, evidently Guigo II, who became Prior in 1173, and resigned in 1180, finally dying in extreme old age in 1188. His successor, Jancelin, who became Prior in 1180, survived till 1233, and so cannot possibly be the Prior in question. If Guigo was the Prior at this time, then it was about 1179–80 that Hugh came to Witham, and this dates his birth at about 1140.

Hugh, like his contemporary Lincolnshire saint, Gilbert of Sempringham, was sprung from a family of knightly rank, his father's name being William,* and that of his mother Anna.† He was the youngest of three sons, of whom the eldest was named William,‡ and the second Peter,§ both of whom we

* *Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis* (R.S.), ed. by J. F. Dimock, p. 16.
† *Metrical Life of St. Hugh,* J. F. Dimock, Linc. 1860, l. 45.
‡ *M.V.*, pp. 144, 319.
§ *M.V.*, pp. 312, 319.

come across for a short time towards the end of his life. Peter came eventually to England and settled there, his brother Hugh making him a grant shortly before his death of two knights' fees at Histon in Cambridgeshire, a grant that was confirmed two days after Hugh's funeral by King John. Another William* of Avalon, stated to be a kinsman of his, is met with later in the number of his retainers. Yet another William of Avalon occurs among the Canons of Lincoln in 1222. He gave a book to the Library, and was Prebendary of Nassington in 1236. There can be little doubt that this William was a kinsman of the saint, a son perhaps of Sir William, or possibly his own nephew, a son of his brother Peter.

Avalon, where Hugh was born, is in Burgundy, some sixty miles south-east of Lyons. It lies within the diocese of Grenoble, and is near Pontcharra, close to the Savoy frontier.

Hugh's mother, a devout lady given to pious works, died while he was still a little child, and on her death his father, who had always been a good and religious man, determined to leave the world and, as he had often desired to do, enter the monastic life. His possessions, which were of considerable extent, he made over to his elder sons, William and Peter, who were evidently some years older than Hugh, and retaining Hugh's portion as youngest son, bestowed it on a little Priory of Regular Canons at a place called Villa Benedicta or Villarbenoit (and a hamlet bearing this name still exists near Pontcharra), a house dependent on the Cathedral of Grenoble, the chapter of which had been made a Regular Chapter by the famous St. Hugh of Grenoble. Of this house Sir William himself became a member; "casting away utterly," according to Hugh's own account, "those things which are of this world that he might take

* *M.V.*, p. 167.

upon himself the warfare of Christ, he became forthwith a recruit in the heavenly camp, after he had long enjoyed a good repute in the earthly." * Not only did he enter religion himself, but, strange as it may seem to us in these days, he took with him into the religious life his little son Hugh, who at this time was barely eight years old.

In connexion with the Priory there was a school maintained by the brethren in which were educated the sons of the neighbouring gentry. In this school Hugh seems to have received an excellent education, though he would appear to have been on quite a different footing from that of the other boys there, and indeed seems to have been regarded in some sort of way as a regular member of the community, in spite of his tender years. The teaching which he received included secular as well as religious subjects, and was imparted after the manner of the times, in which the *flagellum paedagogi* played no small part. We are told that even in these early days he was singularly attractive, being sincere and gentle, honest and good-mannered, and already exhibiting that great virtue of courage for which he was so notable in later life. But his childhood was passed in a strange and unnatural manner, for he was allowed to take no part in the games and amusements of the other boys, but occupied himself in more serious matters, with a solemnity beyond his years. "Indeed," he said in after-years, "I never had any acquaintance with the pleasures of this world; I never learned to play any games, nor did I ever desire to do so." * The old Canon who superintended the teaching, and who evidently had a great love for the child, used to warn him, when the other children were playing together, to avoid such vanities. "Do not let the stupid and errant vanity of your companions lead you astray," he would say. "Let them be. Their interests have but little to do with your lot." And he would often

* *M.V.*, p. 9.

add, "Little Hugh, little Hugh, I am bringing you up for Christ; play is no fit occupation for you."*

In such a manner Hugh passed his strange boyhood, making great progress in learning both secular and divine. He was zealous and regular in his attendance at the Divine Office, and in serving his brethren; never forgetting duties laid upon him, nor letting any other occupation whatsoever interfere with the performance of that which was entrusted to him. He declared in later days that he had never experienced at any time in his life the common monkish failing of *morantia,* or slackness in the performance of his duties. And indeed in single-hearted diligence in the performance of duties of whatsoever kind he persisted unfailingly to the end of his life.

So Hugh arrived at man's estate. His father had by this time become a very old man, very infirm and helpless, and to Hugh was assigned by the Prior the charge of this honoured inmate of the house, his own father. We read how gladly and joyfully the young monk obeyed the bidding of his spiritual father to care for the needs of his father in the flesh, and of his loving devotion to him as long as he lived; how he led him about, or even carried him; how he dressed him, and undressed him, bathed him and put him to bed in his helplessness; how he prepared his food for him and fed him when he became too feeble to do anything for himself; receiving, we are told, a thousand times his father's blessing for all his love and care.

When he was in his nineteenth year, that is about 1159, on the demand of his brethren, though much against his own will, Hugh was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Grenoble.† Already, we are told, he had acquired the wisdom and attained to the reproachless life of one already grey-headed, and on being made deacon he characteristically devoted himself to his new duties with all his heart, serving the altar of God

* *M.V.*, p. 10.
† *M.V.*, p. 17.

in all respects with reverence and devoutness, and reading the Gospel with a voice like that of an angel. Moreover, he began now to give himself with much zeal to the function of preaching, proving himself a moving and eloquent speaker, so much so that his brethren recognized and rejoiced in his gift, and the Prior sought how he could put it to best use.

The Priory of Villarbenoit possessed close by a cell dependent on it, which was known as the Cell of St. Maximus, or perhaps it should be of St. Maximin, for there is still a hamlet near Pontcharra which bears this name. It was determined to put Hugh in charge of this cell, that so he might have scope for using his gifts as a preacher.* This would be about 1164, for Hugh had been an inmate of the house of Villarbenoit now for sixteen years, and so was twenty-four years old. His new duties were not attractive so far as personal comfort was concerned, for the place was very isolated, and he was almost without the common necessities of life; but it involved a cure of souls. In these circumstances Hugh showed his usual prudence and common sense, and knowing that, in the words of Ecclesiastes (iv. 9), "Two are better than one," and that the companionship of an older man would be an advantage to him in every way, he chose as his fellow-labourer a Canon who was a priest and also a man of serious years and conversation. In his new surroundings Hugh gave himself up to reading and prayer and the earnest care of the people committed to him. His work among them was crowned with great results, and indeed so quickly was the fame of his preaching bruited abroad, that before long he was preaching not only to his own people, but to crowds also of other folk who flocked together from the villages round about to hear him.

An example of his methods with his people at this period of his life is given by his biographer, who had the account of it from Hugh's own lips. There

* *M.V.*, p. 19.

was a man living in the place at the time who was generally suspected, and by some openly accused, of great sin. For a time Hugh refused to believe the charges commonly made against him, but at last, after careful inquiry and investigation, was forced to the conclusion, to his great grief, that the accusations were true. "I interviewed the man," he says, "he and I alone, and said what I thought the matter and the occasion required. He, on his part, began to deny his guilt strenuously, and to get angry, and, so far as he dared in his perverseness, to become threatening and abusive; and so went off, leaving me sad, as he showed himself for the time being incorrigible. But I remembered the divine precept, and taking with me first two, then three witnesses, who were cognizant of the matter, I admonished the man and tried to persuade him to amend, promising him pardon on his amendment after due performance of his penance. He would not promise amendment, nor would he for a moment hear of the removal of the occasion of the suspicions and accusations against him. So at last openly and publicly in church one holy-day I denounced his guilt, which was by now obvious to all. I pointed out to all my hearers the enormity of his ill-doing, and in awe-inspiring words declared that he must be handed over to Satan and to the destruction of the flesh if he did not speedily amend his ways. He was dreadfully frightened and confounded by these words, and hastily came forward with weeping and lamentation, admitted his sin, and, performing his penance after amendment and reconciliation, received his pardon." Hugh's biographer adds: "This is the holy man's own account of this incident, and we have thought it worthy of insertion in his history, that hereby may be made patent to the reader what great zeal and solicitude, what wisdom and carefulness, the man of God possessed for souls from his earliest years." *

* *M.V.*, pp. 21, 22.

It would seem, however, that Hugh did not long remain in charge of this cell. He was unaccustomed, in consequence of his strange bringing up, to the ways of the world, and its dangers and temptations. In particular he was afraid of women, but of course was not able to avoid all contact with them in the round of his pastoral duties. Finally he was tempted, according to Giraldus Cambrensis and the author of the metrical Life,* or thought he was tempted, by one particular woman, and returned once more to the security of the secluded life of Villarbenoit and ultimately of the Carthusian Order.

* Giraldus Cambr., *Vita S. Hugonis* (R.S.), vii, p. 91. *M.L.*, ll. 221 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARTREUSE

HUGH's experience at the Cell of St. Maximin turned his thoughts back again to the secluded safety of the strict monastic life, and impressed by the great fame and reputation of the Carthusian Order, which had been founded by St. Bruno in 1084, he began to have a great desire to enter it. At first he kept his desire to himself, but looked diligently for some opportunity of seeing with his own eyes something of the methods and working of the Order which had so soon made for itself so great a name. The opportunity came one day when his Prior went to visit the Chartreuse and took Hugh with him.

Hugh was immensely impressed by all the circumstances of the famous monastery. Its very situation, perched up as it was on rugged rocks, seemed to him to make it inaccessible to the cares and anxieties of the world, and to bring it, as it were, nearer heaven, aloof and remote from the turmoil and unquietness of earthly interests; and it seemed to him that here a man could have the means of devoting himself entirely and without interruption to the service of God. The rich library made its appeal to his scholarly instincts, with the abundant advantages that it offered for the acquisition of learning. The unbroken quiet and peacefulness seemed to him eminently helpful and favourable to meditation and prayer. As for the brethren, he noted with wonder and admiration their mortification of the flesh, the serenity of their minds, their freedom of spirit, their cheerfulness, and

the pure and edifying character of their conversation.

The Carthusian Order was very strict and ascetic in its manner of life. Houses of the Order were deliberately and of purpose built in rough and inaccessible spots, as far removed as possible from the abodes of men. So much was this the case that an *eremus,* or wilderness, was a recognized name for a Carthusian house. The very ornaments of the chapel were to be of the simplest and most inexpensive nature, the only exception being in the case of the Chalice and Reed (by means of which the precious Blood was received), which might be of silver or gold. The brethren lived almost as hermits, each by himself in his own separate cell, which contained the minimum of necessary furniture. Here in their cells, unless occupied in necessary duties, they passed their days in prayer and meditation, and in reading and writing. Here, too, in their cells they said their Offices by themselves, with the exception of Vespers and Matins, which were said in common in the chapel. Only on Sundays and feast-days and on the occasion of the burial of any brother did they meet together in the refectory, and only on these occasions were they permitted to converse together. No woman under any circumstances was allowed to enter within the bounds of the establishment. Every brother wore a hair shirt. On all Fridays in the year and on the vigils of great feasts they fasted on bread and salt and water, and in Advent and Quinquagesima and the Embertides they also observed Wednesday in the same way. In Lent, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday were kept on bread and water, pulse and wine being allowed on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, but their wine was always watered. At other times they were allowed such fare as cheese, eggs, and fish, but never meat of any kind, except in cases of necessity in extreme sickness. The object of the Order was contemplative rather than active, its attitude being, as the Rule states, that of Mary rather than of Martha.

Such was the Order to which Hugh felt so strong an attraction. Its method of life seemed to him ideal. Solitude was provided without causing individualism, for though the brethren dwelt separately in their cells, yet notwithstanding there existed a strong spirit of unity and fellowship. Each brother dwelt by himself, yet none possessed anything of his own, nor were any of his acts done just for himself alone. Each dwelt by himself that none might suffer hindrance in his devotions and prayers, yet all lived a common life, in that all had the same object before them, and in this way were not without the solace of brotherly intercourse. All these things Hugh noted, but above all he seems to have been impressed by the absolute obedience observed, and by the perfect freedom from care on the part of the brethren, two factors which he knew from his own observation were essential to the ideal monastic life.

There was living at the Chartreuse at the time of Hugh's visit an old monk held in high esteem for his piety, and one who had once possessed a great name in the world. Hugh went to him privately, and made known to him his great desire to enter the Order, not thinking apparently that any obstacle would be put in his way, for he was eager to attain his ambition as soon as possible. But he was by no means favourably received.* The old man looked at him keenly, and noticed that he was young, and judged from his appearance that he was not strong or robust. He knew, too, that Hugh was of noble birth. He did not think that Hugh's past life would fit him for the strict Carthusian rule, or that his physical strength would enable him to endure it. "How," he asked, "do you dream of thinking any such thing? The men who live here, as you see among these rocks, must themselves be harder than rocks. They show no pity to themselves, nor to them that dwell here with them. The very situation of this place is wild and

* *M.V.*, p. 24.

savage in itself; the Rule of the Order is most severe in practice. The harsh hair shirt alone would fetch the skin and flesh off your bones, and the sternness of the discipline would soon shatter a constitution so obviously delicate as yours." So Hugh was rebuffed and rejected, as it seemed to him. But in fact the old monk, far from showing any spirit of pride or unkindness, was but obeying the Rule, which enjoined that great stress should be laid on the harshness and severity of the Carthusian life to any who applied for admission to the Order, in order that the earnestness and steadfastness of the applicant might be tested duly.

Hugh then was at the outset frustrated in his hopes, but his constancy of purpose was strong enough not to suffer him to be daunted by this apparently unsympathetic reception. He spoke of his desire to other members of the Order, and his approaches were by them very differently received. They encouraged him to persevere in his object, and seemed as anxious for him to become one of themselves as the old monk seemed the reverse.

But now a great difficulty presented itself to Hugh, for it became necessary for him to open his mind and reveal his plans to his old Prior. The old man, on hearing of his purpose, was literally stricken at the very idea. He had come to love Hugh just as a father loves his own son, and he was horrified at the very notion of Hugh's leaving their community to enter the Chartreuse. As for himself, he was utterly broken-hearted at the thought of Hugh's going away and leaving him desolate in his old age. At last he implored Hugh to swear to him that, at least as long as he himself was alive, Hugh would not leave them for the Carthusian Order. Hugh found himself in great perplexity, and a great conflict arose within him as to what he ought to do. On the one side he felt that a great opportunity was now offered him of serving God with a single and undivided purpose. On

the other side were the bonds of natural affection which bound him to the old Prior, with whom he had grown up from childhood, who was not only his spiritual father but indeed almost as his natural Father. If he left him now the old man's heart would break, and it seemed clear that some consideration was due to him. So in the end Hugh took the oath that the old man urged on him, and promised that so long as the Prior lived he would not leave them.

But he broke his oath. His duty, as it seemed to him, his clear duty to God, must outweigh all earthly considerations of love and pity. So he left the old Prior secretly and by stealth, and went off to serve God without hindrance or obstacle, and was received at the Chartreuse with open arms.*

This is the one incident in Hugh's life that does not redound to his honour. And it is not only to the modern mind that his action seems reprehensible, for in his own days there were certainly some who condemned his conduct. Even his biographer, Adam, who worshipped him, seems to have had his doubts as to the rectitude of his behaviour on this occasion, so much so that he tells us that he had asked him not once, but several times, whether this breaking of his oath had ever caused him any prickings of conscience. But Hugh always answered without hesitation, "I certainly never suffered any pricks of conscience from this act of mine; indeed, I have always felt great joy whenever I have recalled the action that was the source of such immense benefit to me." † He himself was doubtless the best judge of his own case. It must have been very painful and difficult for him to do as he did, but there can be no doubt that in this difficult matter, as in all other things, he followed with absolute honesty the dictates of his conscience.

Hugh's entry into the Carthusian Order took place about 1165, at which time Basil, who had been elected

* *M.V.*, pp. 26 ff.
† *M.V.*, p. 29.

to that office in 1151, was Prior. The Order was perhaps at the height of its glory at the time when Hugh became a member of it. It possessed a very great influence not only in the Church, but even played a part in the counsels of Kings and Princes. In later days Hugh would often tell stories of the great and good men who had been members of the Order, some of them his own contemporaries. There were those who had held exalted positions in the world, and yet had been ready to give up all and live the rest of their lives as humble lay brethren at the Great Chartreuse. Such an one was William, Count of Nevers.* The Count had been a trusted courtier and adviser of Louis VII of France, and even in his courtier days had been very strict in his life and regular in the observance of his religious duties. On one occasion he even rebuked the King for indulging in such vanity as a game of chess, but was held in great honour and respect for his sincerity and sterling worth. In 1147, when King Louis was about to start on Crusade and had purposed to leave to him the charge of the realm, Count William went off suddenly and entered the Chartreuse as a lay brother, dying there in the following year. He, of course, was before Hugh's time, but such a man was long remembered by the brethren. Then there was Girard, Count of Nivernais, whom Adam has confused with the Count of Nevers. He, too, seems to have been a man of high position in the world before he entered the Order as a lay brother. It is probably this same Girard who later accompanied Hugh to Witham and who told King Henry so plainly what he thought of him. Nantelm, who became Bishop of Bellay in 1163, was a Carthusian. There was old brother Ainard too, whom we shall meet again at Witham.

So Hugh's desire was granted him, and he had become a member of the illustrious Order of the Chartreuse; and now, cut off entirely from the world

* *M.V.*, p. 34.

and its interests, he was free without let or hindrance to give himself unreservedly and with complete devotion to the service of God. But he soon found that he was mistaken, for, in common with many another who with the same high purpose has withdrawn from the world, he speedily discovered that temptation could not so easily be escaped. From the day that he entered the Order he began to be assailed by temptations of a nature and severity that he had never before experienced. "From the very moment," he says, "that I set foot across the threshold of my cell, I felt rising within me sensations of new temptation. Night and day the angel of Satan did not leave me, standing over me, goading me, and buffeting me with his blows." * These temptations seem to have been of that kind that so often are associated with the solitary life, temptations of an acute fleshly nature. But Hugh used to say, when in after-life he would tell the story of his own earlier experiences to the brethren at Witham as an encouragement to them to persevere, that never for a moment in all his temptation did God leave him helpless.

These temptations beset him over a period of many years. At last, as he himself told the story, Prior Basil appeared to him after his death in a vision by night, and freed him from all temptations of this nature, so that they only recurred very occasionally and in much milder form. This story Hugh told in detail, when he was on his deathbed, to Adam, his chaplain and biographer.

In the course of years Hugh was enabled to take full advantage of the splendid library of the Chartreuse, and of the scholars with whom he came into contact, for there were many illustrious visitors, making great progress in learning. He was unsparing of himself, spending the whole of his time in reading and meditation and prayer. The extent of his learning is shown by the fact that Gerald de Barri describes him as

* *M.V.*, pp. 29 ff.

literatissimus, no small encomium coming from such a quarter.*

But Hugh was under obedience, and from time to time had special duties committed to him. For example, there was laid upon him, at one time, the complete care of an aged and decrepit monk, so helpless that he was unable to go beyond the threshold of his cell. With him Hugh recited his Hours, and to him he ministered in every way faithfully and unwearily, as he had cared for his own father in days gone by.

When he had been an inmate of the house for some years, the question of Hugh's ordination as priest arose.† The circumstances are interesting as showing the methods employed at the Chartreuse. One of the older brethren approached him on the subject. "My son," he said, "an opportunity now offers for you to be ordained priest, if you wish. If you so desire, you shall now be advanced to this order." It had long seemed to Hugh that nothing could be more sweet and more wonderful than to be privileged to celebrate the sacred mysteries, and now that this privilege was offered to him he answered simply and honestly in accordance with his longing, "So far as I am concerned, Father, there is nothing in this life that I desire more." The old man was horrified at the presumption, as he held it, of Hugh's answer. "You have often enough read," he answered, "that he who does not approach the priesthood unwillingly, approaches it unworthily; and you on your own admission not only approach it not unwillingly, but actually with eagerness." On Hugh's instant humiliation of himself, however, the old man admitted that he had but been testing him. He knew full well Hugh's worthiness, and understood perfectly why he had spoken as he had, and finally prophesied that one day Hugh would be a Bishop.

* Girald. Cambr. vii. 68.
† *M.V.*, p. 36.

So Hugh was ordained priest; and as he was promoted to a higher grade in the sacred ministry, so he advanced in devoutness of life. When he celebrated Mass his demeanour was such as if he actually saw with his earthly eyes the Lord and Saviour Whom he handled, and as he gazed upon the visible species of bread and wine his mind seemed to penetrate to the invisible Presence that lay behind them. Nor was his seriousness confined to the occasion simply for the time being, but was lasting and remained with him.

His austerities were very severe. He subdued the body by vigils, fastings, and flagellations. He observed rigidly all the injunctions of the Rule, and during Holy Week added Saturday to the other three days of strict fasting on bread and water. No infirmity nor weakness ever induced him, in the days before he became a Bishop, to lighten the observance of these four days in Holy Week. But it was to this strict abstinence that medical men attributed the acute indigestion and the almost continuous troubles and sufferings of a kindred nature to which he was subject in later life, and to this same cause they ascribed the fact that by the age of fifty he became corpulent.*

In this way, Adam remarks, living devoutly and righteously and justly towards God, his neighbour, and himself, he prepared himself for the highest order of the ministry for which he was destined.

During his sojourn at the Chartreuse, Hugh enjoyed the friendship of Peter, Bishop of Tarentaise.† This prelate, one of the most famous and saintly Bishops of his time, ruled the see of Tarentaise from 1142 till his death in 1174, and was canonized in 1191. Although himself a Cistercian, Peter had a great admiration and love for the Carthusian Order, and whenever he had an opportunity would visit the Chartreuse. When staying there he would live in a cell by himself just like one of the brethren, and

* *M.V.*, p. 39.
† *M.V.*, p. 40.

conformed in all respects to the Rule. Hugh was appointed to attend on him, and the two good men seem quickly to have discovered how much they had in common. Peter soon found how widely read was Hugh, and in particular how deeply versed he was in Holy Scripture. Whether their discourse turned on the Old or New Testament, or on the Lives of the Saints, or on the writings of the Doctors of the Church, nothing was beyond the exact knowledge of Hugh. So the old Bishop and his younger attendant were much together, and there soon existed between them bonds of deep affection. Peter was an honoured guest at the Chartreuse. For a long time a seat was shown that had been made especially for him at the bottom of the hill, a board fixed between two great silver fir-trees growing side by side, in each of which a niche was cut to hold it, and there he would often sit. In the summer of 1200, when, shortly before his death, Hugh paid his last visit to the Chartreuse, he showed Adam this seat and told him all about it. It was generally held to be a miracle that as the trees grew taller, the seat nevertheless remained at its original height from the ground.

When he had been an inmate of the Chartreuse for ten years—that would be about 1175—Hugh was promoted, against his wish, to the office of Procurator.* He was afraid that the material nature of the duties which this office involved would prove a hindrance to his spiritual life. But as events proved, the choice of him as Procurator was more than justified, for he showed himself to be another Joseph, a most excellent and efficient administrator. As Procurator he was responsible for the well-being of the Lower House, where the Conversi, or lay brethren, dwelt, and where they had their own chapel. Originally a lower house and chapel for the lay brethren was the universal rule in Carthusian houses, and it was so at Witham, but, later, these separate arrangements were given up. The

* *M.V.*, p. 43.

care of the guests also lay within the duties of the Procurator, and it was perhaps for this reason that Hugh was selected for the office, for in this capacity he must have had to do with many great and distinguished persons who from time to time visited the famous house. In all respects, we are told, he fulfilled his duties ideally. Whether it were in the matter of his preaching to the brethren, or in his intercourse with them and the lay brothers, or in his dealings with the secular folk who came as visitors, he showed himself to all in every way helpful and acceptable. If he could not give material assistance, yet he was always able to give comfort and encouragement by his words and counsel, proving true the statement of the Wise Man (Ecclus. xviii. 17), "Lo, is not a word better than a gift?"

NOTE TO CHAPTER II

THE CARTHUSIAN FORM OF PROFESSION

In Missa qua suscipiendus est ad professionem nouitius, post offertorium ad gradum ante altare uenit, inclinatusque uersum hunc tertio repetit, choro respondente eumdem:

Suscipe me Domine secundum eloquium tuum et uiuam: et non confundas me ab expectatione mea.

post cuius tertiam repetitionem additur:

Gloria patri.
Sicut erat.
Kyrie eleison.
Christe eleison.
Pater noster.

Interim nouitius ante hospites, si adsint, et ante singulos monachos genua flectens, et formam osculans dicit; ita ut possit audiri:

Ora pro me, Pater, *incipiens a choro Prioris.*

Post haec rediens in eodem quo prius stat loco inclinatus. Tunc sacerdos ad illum accedens subdit preces:

Et ne nos.
Saluum fac seruum.
Mitte ei.
Esto ei.
Domine exaudi.
Domine deus uirtutum.
Dominus uobiscum.

Sicque cucullam super gradum ante nouitium positam benedicit dicens:

Oremus

Domine Iesu Christe qui tegimen nostrae mortalitatis induere dignatus es obsecramus immensam tuae largitatis abundantiam, ut hoc genus uestimenti quod sancti patres ad innocentiae uel humilitatis indicium, saeculo abrenuntiantes ferre sanxerunt, ita benedicere digneris ut hic famulus tuus qui hoc usus fuerit, te uidere mereatur. Qui uiuis et regnas cum deo patre.

Deinde cappam et cucullam paruam nouitio detrahit dicendo:

Exuat te Dominus hominem ueterem cum actibus suis; *et induit eum cucullam longam dicendo:*

Et induat nouum qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate ueritatis.

Sicque nouitius ad cornu altaris accedens a parte piscinae, uersa facie ad altare stans, professionem suam aperte et distincte audientibus omnibus legit.

Ego frater *ille* promitto stabilitatem et obedientiam et conuersionem morum meorum coram Deo et sanctis eius et reliquiis istius eremi quae constructa est ad honorem Dei et beatae semper Uirginis et beati Iohannis Baptistae in praesentia domini illius Prioris.

lectamque super osculatum offert altare; prostratusque ad pedes sacerdotis tali deprecatione suscipit benedictionem:

Dominus uobiscum.

Oremus

Domine Iesu Christe qui es uia, sine quo nemo uenit ad Patrem, quaesumus benignissimam clementiam tuam ut hunc famulum tuum a carnalibus desideriis abstractum,

per iter disciplinae regularis deducas; et quia peccatores uocare dignatus es dicens: Uenite ad me omnes qui onerati estis et ego uos reficiam: praesta ut haec uisitationis uox ita in eo conualescat quatenus peccatorum onera deponens, et quam dulcis es gustans, tua refectione sustentari mereatur et sicut attestari de tuis ouibus dignatus es, agnosce eum inter oues tuas, ut ipse te sic agnoscat ut alienum non sequatur, sed neque audiat uocem alienorum sed tuam qua dicis: Qui mihi ministrat me sequatur. Qui uiuis et regnas.

Et aqua sancta aspersus nouitius surgens ad suam sedem reuertitur.

(Martène, *De Antiq. Eccles. Ritibus*, iv, 229, Venice, 1783.)

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF WITHAM

On December 29, 1170, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury was foully murdered, and by the common consent of Christendom the moral guilt of his martyrdom was laid upon the King, and will always remain an indelible stain on one who is among the greatest of our monarchs.

As part of his penance a three years' Crusade was imposed upon the King, but this was eventually commuted to the founding of three religious houses. Apparently it was as one of these three that Henry determined to found a Carthusian monastery at Witham in Somerset. It is perhaps characteristic of him that he had chosen a house of this Order. Not only was it the case that the Chartreuse was perhaps the most famous Order at the time, but the Abbots of the Order had brought themselves very much into his notice by writing to him and admonishing him in the height of his controversy with St. Thomas; and Henry respected courage in others.

The course of the foundation at Witham did not run smoothly, owing to the lack of provision made by the founder. The King granted the demesne of Witham to the Chartreuse, and a Prior and some brethren were sent over to take possession and proceed with the founding of the house. But the first Prior was not equal to the work. He found that, beyond the mere grant of land, no provision of any kind had been made for the well-being, or indeed bare existence, of the brethren, and he, a man accustomed to

the quiet life of the Chartreuse, seemed to be lacking in the energy and activity which were necessary to bring the house into real existence. But the difficulties were very great. A foreign land, food to which the brethren were not accustomed, a more rigorous climate; and above all, the active animosity and antagonism of the unfortunate inhabitants of Witham, for whom also no provision of any kind had been made, and who not unnaturally resented being turned out of their homes to make room for a set of foreign monks, proved altogether too much for the Prior entrusted with the work of foundation. So he resigned and returned home. A second Prior was sent, who found the conditions no easier than his predecessor had done, and moreover before long he died, leaving his wretched brethren in a desperate and helpless state, without a leader, without a home, and subject to the hostility of the dispossessed country folk. Even the King became uneasy for the future of the house.

When things were in this state and the fate of Witham was hanging in the balance, a certain noble of Maurienne happened to pay a visit to the King.* In the course of conversation the King asked him for information about the Carthusian Order with the thought of the unfortunate state of Witham in his mind. From the noble he heard a most glowing account of the Order, and evidently told him of the difficulties with which he was meeting in connexion with the foundation of his monastery. On hearing this, his visitor launched out into an enthusiastic eulogy of Hugh the Procurator of the Chartreuse, of

* *M.V.*, p. 52. It is possible that Adam has confused the date of this visit. At one time a marriage was proposed between John and a daughter of the Count of Maurienne, and there was a treaty of marriage on hand in 1173. But it came to nothing, and John was betrothed to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester in 1176. This visit would be well accounted for if made in connexion with the proposed marriage, but in that case must have taken place some five or six years before the date at which Adam puts it.

Photo. S. Smith, Lincoln.

EXTERIOR OF WITHAM FRARY CHURCH, 1790.

FROM A PRINT.

(facing p. 22).

his holiness, of his acceptableness, and urged the King to secure him, declaring that he would prove a source of glory to the whole English Church. "You will find in this one man," he assured Henry, "the sum of all the virtues, all the patience and sweetness, all the courage and gentleness that is to be met with in mortals. No one will object to him as a neighbour. No one will avoid this man on the ground that he is a foreigner. No one will have anything but respect for him, whether it be as fellow-citizen, or inmate of his household, or brother, or close friend. For he has for all men exactly the same regard that he has for his own self, and enfolds and cherishes all in the embrace of love."

King Henry was much impressed by this enthusiastic account of Hugh's character, and determined to procure this wonderful man for his new foundation. Accordingly he sent an embassage, headed by Reginald Bishop of Bath, to demand Hugh from the Chartreuse as Prior of Witham. Hugh was at this time about forty years old.

The King's messengers duly arrived at the Chartreuse bearing the royal letters. On their way they had gathered into their number the venerable Bishop of Grenoble, who was the Diocesan of the Chartreuse. The account of what took place on this occasion Adam derived from one Bovo, who at that time was an inmate of the House, and who was destined to become in later days himself Prior of Witham.*

The Community was overwhelmed when they understood the nature of the King's request, and at first the Prior flatly refused to comply with it. But on further consideration, while some, indeed most, were of the opinion that a man so obviously destined, as Hugh was, to do much to the advancement of the Order, ought under no circumstances to be buried in a far-off, out-of-the-way place like Witham, there

* *M.V.*, pp. 59 ff.

were others, among whom was Bovo, who saw in Henry's letter the Divine hand, ordaining by this means the refulgence of the glory of the Order throughout the world. At last the matter was submitted to Hugh himself, and in no uncertain words he vehemently opposed the plan, pleading with his wonted humbleness his sense of his own unworthiness. So the consultation went on. The more the Prior objected and the more Hugh insisted on his unworthiness, the more urgent were the Bishops of the embassage that the request of a great King like Henry should be complied with. At last the Prior, the natural affections of the old monk not quite subdued even by the austerity of the Carthusian Rule, exclaimed with deep feeling, "As God lives, the word shall never go out of my mouth by which I shall bid Hugh to abandon me in my old age, and to deprive the Chartreuse of his sweet and needful presence." In the end he turned to the Bishop of Grenoble and laid the responsibility of deciding the question upon him, promising to abide by his decision, whichever way it should be.

So the Bishop gave judgment, and after instancing the similar cases of St. Benedict and St. Maur, bade Hugh regard this request as a clear call, and go. It was in vain that Hugh begged to be released. So at length commending himself to the prayers of the brethren, and bidding them a solemn farewell with the kiss of peace, he set out with the King's messengers to his great life's work in England.

The date of Hugh's coming into England would appear to be 1179. The time at which the first Carthusian settlement took place at Witham cannot be fixed with certainty, but the accounts of their hardships seem to imply that they had been at Witham some two years or so before Hugh's arrival. The first reference to Carthusians at Witham is found in the Pipe Roll Mich. 1179 – Mich. 1180, when the Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset notes that a charge

of £10 is no longer payable, by royal brief, from the Vill of Witham, where the brethren of the Carthusian Order reside, and the same Roll shows a payment of £13 6*s*. 8*d*. from the Sheriff of Hampshire to Ralph FitzStephen, by brief of Ranulf de Granvill, for buying clothing for the brethren of the Charterhouse. Also the Sheriff of Cornwall pays Ralph FitzStephen £40 for buildings at Witham. This last item in particular seems to aid us in the matter of date. Henry left England in the spring of 1180. Reginald, Bishop of Bath, who was sent to bring Hugh over to England, was attending the Lateran Council from March 5–19, 1179, and it was doubtless on his return that he went to the Chartreuse on his mission. The payment of the £40 for buildings looks like the result of Hugh's first interview with Henry. If so, Hugh's coming to Witham may be fixed in the summer of 1179.

On reaching England, Hugh was presented to the King, by whom he was received with the greatest favour, and was conducted to Witham, where the new Prior was welcomed, we are told, as an angel of God with unspeakable joy by the few brethren who were still there.

"But," as Adam quaintly puts it,* "like another Joseph, he found his brethren at Dothan, which being interpreted means 'want.'" In other words, he found the condition of things at Witham desperate. The brethren, or as many of them as survived, were dwelling in cells of wattle, surrounded by a scanty paling. They were almost entirely without the common necessities of life, and no progress of any sort seems to have been made. Not even had any plan of the arrangement of the buildings been settled; no decision had been made as to where the great church for the brethren should be built, and their cells, nor where the lesser church and dwellings of the lay brethren, or the buildings for the accommodation for guests

* *M.V.*, p. 67.

were to be. The old inhabitants were still among them in their houses, for so far no provision of any kind had been made for their removal elsewhere without loss or damage to themselves, and in such a way that they would not cherish a sense of injury against their supplanters. Not only was it a matter of necessity to find a new home for them from the point of view of their maintenance, inasmuch as their land had been granted to the monks, but their removal was necessary from the point of view of the Carthusians, whose Rule required that the house should be remote from the dwellings of men.

Hugh carefully noted the condition of things, and returned at once to King Henry, explaining to him in detail the state of Witham; and the King, who was rather astonished at his prudence and the moderation of his demands, promised to do all that he asked for.*

The first thing to be done was to remove the inhabitants, and so procure the necessary solitude. They were offered the alternative, either to choose any other Royal manor, and there receive lands and dwellings equivalent in value to those of which they had been deprived, or if they preferred, were offered their freedom, to go and live as free men where they would. Hugh concerned himself zealously with their interests, and insisted on their receiving full and complete compensation in every respect for their disturbance, in order that these people should be, for their part, satisfied and content with their treatment, and that on the other hand the brethren might feel that they had wronged and injured no man.

But still Hugh was not quite satisfied, and begged the materials of the old dwellings from the King. These were given him, and he bestowed them again on the original owners, who thus went off to their new life absolutely contented and feeling fully compensated.

In register III of Wells there is preserved a copy

* *M.V.*, p. 69.

of a charter granted in 1182 by the King to Gilbert of Norfolk, by which he is granted £8 worth of land in the Royal Manor of North Curry in exchange for his land at Parva Whiteham, to be held of Gilbert Malet for the same service for which he had held of him the land at Witham. The actual foundation charter of Witham was given at Marlborough probably on January 6, 1182.

Now that the question of the old inhabitants had been satisfactorily dealt with, it was possible to make a beginning, at least, with the planning and erection of the new monastic buildings. This proved a long, wearisome, and very troublesome business. The buildings were begun, and then the money for the payment of the workmen was not forthcoming, and the operations came to a standstill, the brethren in the meanwhile living in extreme discomfort. It was the Prior who had to bear the brunt of their not unnatural grumblings. Once more Hugh sent brethren to the King explaining the position and asking for help, but he got nothing in reply more substantial than words and promises; and a second appeal met with the same result. The Prior set himself therefore to wait patiently on the King's pleasure, but nothing happened, and the building came to a complete stoppage. To make things worse, the discontent of the brethren came to a head, and they even began to reproach their Prior. One of the lay brethren, Brother Girard, perhaps that former Count of Nivernais of whom mention has already been made, told Hugh that he was much too gentle in his methods. In his opinion, it was necessary to tell the King the truth plainly to his face, and he proposed that he should go with Hugh and that the two of them should state their case openly to Henry. Hugh thereupon called the brethren together and asked their opinion. They approved of Brother Girard's suggestion, and, as a result, Hugh set out, accompanied by Brother Girard and Brother Ainard, an old and tried lay brother of the Order, of whom also men-

tion has been made before, to make a final appeal to the King. Brother Girard, we are told, was a man of good birth, of strong character, and a good monk; and moreover, by reason of his experience of courts in the days when he was yet in the world, well able to deal with great men and princes.

So* the three came into presence of the King, who received them kindly and politely. He excused himself for his delay in attending to their needs, and again made all sorts of promises, but offered nothing substantial at the moment, nor did he definitely fix any time for the fulfilment of the promises which he made so readily. Hugh had exhorted Brother Girard beforehand to be careful and moderate in his language, but now he forgot all about Hugh's admonitions, and could contain himself no longer. "Whatever plans," he burst out, "you may have in the future, whether for proceeding with the work or stopping what has been begun, I shall be no longer here to see them. I leave you to your enjoyment of the resources of your realm, and for my part will speedily bid you farewell and return to our Desert at the Chartreuse. You think that it is an act of graciousness to supply us with bare bread, but we are certainly not dependent on you for it. It is much better for us to take ourselves back to our rock in the Alps than have to contend with such a man as you, who thinks that anything expended for his own salvation is so much lost. Let such an one as yourself keep for himself the wealth which he loves so much, and lose it very soon, or leave it to some ungrateful heir whom he does not know. Neither does Christ nor any good Christian condescend to partake of it." Hugh was horrified and abashed at the unrestrained language of the vehement Girard, and used to say in after-days, when he told the story, that he still shivered when he thought of it. He bade Girard restrain himself, and either moderate his words or hold his peace altogether. But Girard

* *M.V.*, p. 73.

was now quite satisfied, and felt that he had said what needed to be said. Henry had sat and listened to his outbreak without a sign. His expression remained unmoved, and not a word did he utter, but just listened and gazed on the scene of Girard's fierce indignation and Hugh's utter confusion. So great was Hugh's consternation that he remained dumb, unable to say a word, and hanging his head with shame. At length the King turned to him and asked, "And what are you meditating so thoughtfully, good man? Do you too propose to depart and leave us to the enjoyment of our realm?" Hugh answered quietly and gently, "I do not so despair of you, Lord; nay rather I sympathize with you in your hindrances and busy occupations, which make it so hard for you to give due consideration to the things which have to do with the well-being of your soul. Though you are so much occupied, yet with God's help you will complete that which you have so well begun." The King started up and embraced him, declaring with an oath, "By the salvation of my soul, while I breathe the breath of life you shall never leave my kingdom, and I will give due consideration to the well-being of my soul under your direction." At once the King gave orders that the money needed should be found, and that the work should be proceeded with at all possible speed.

Thus the work was resumed. There are interesting references in the Pipe Roll to the finding of funds for the purpose. In 1180–1 £20 is forthcoming from Notts and Derby for the building. In 1181–2 Dorset and Somerset find £20 for the buildings and £10 for seed for the Carthusians at Witham. In 1182–3 Devon provides £30 for building, and Hampshire 10 marcs for clothes. In 1183–4 Devon and Berks contribute another £50 each for the building. In 1185–6 and subsequent years the brethren are excused the payment of 40*s.* due from the "pasture of Chedderford." In 1185–6 Wilts supplies £20 for clothing, and the vacant Abbey of Abingdon £30 for work. In

1186–7 Dorset and Somerset supply 100 "cranochs" of corn, worth 62*s.* 6*d.*, and the vacant see of Salisbury 100 marcs for building. Thus it will be seen that the King was as good as his word.

So the monastery was built. The work went on gradually, and was not finished by the time Hugh left to become Bishop of Lincoln, as the above details from the Pipe Roll show, and as is also indicated elsewhere. We know very little about the buildings, for they have all disappeared with the exception of the "Frary Church," or lower church of the lay brothers, which has served since the Reformation as the parish church of Witham. We are told that the church had a stone roof, and the surviving frary church has a stone vaulting. This latter is without a tower. It has an apsidal east end, and is in Early English style, and although externally it has suffered a good deal from decay and restoration, internally it has changed but little in appearance from what it must have been like in St. Hugh's days.

From the time of his famous interview with the King there was a good deal of intercourse between Henry and Hugh. There can be no doubt that Hugh's character appealed very strongly to Henry, for all contemporary authorities agree in speaking of the particular regard and esteem that the King had for him. Curiously enough, Hugh seems to have been very like Henry in features. So much was this the case that it was actually believed by some that he was a natural son of the King. Adam tells us that when he was with Hugh in Aquitaine in Richard's reign, the people there would have it that the good Bishop was a son of the late King. They pointed to King's Henry's love and respect for him; to the way in which he had trusted him as he had trusted no one else; how he had raised him, though a foreigner, to a position of such honour and dignity in England; and finally, they pointed triumphantly to Hugh's striking likeness to Henry.

But the truth is that Henry, who, like all great men,

Photo. A. S. Ashby, Frome.

INTERIOR OF WITHAM FRARY CHURCH.

(PRESENT DAY).

(facing p. 30).

was an excellent judge of other men, appreciated the sterling worth of Hugh and loved him for it. He always took great delight in his conversation because he was so transparently honest and truthful and sincere; and in a court like that of Henry, so full of intrigues and plots, that he could not rely on the loyalty of his own children but knew them to be utterly untrustworthy, association with such a man as Hugh must have been a source of peace and comfort. The King loved to talk to Hugh because he could be depended upon always to say exactly what he thought, to tell the truth regardless of all consequences, and to abstain from flattery of any kind. Moreover, Hugh was a man of great and undoubted courage, and this quality would appeal strongly to Henry, for the Angevins, rough and violent as they were, and stained with many vices, were at least endowed with courage and manliness (with the exception, of course, of John, who was a coward and seems to have possessed no virtues), and respected these qualities in other men.

So it came about that the King would frequently turn to Hugh for counsel, not only in spiritual matters, but even on the affairs of the Kingdom, and in this way Hugh was often enabled to influence the King for good, and even sometimes was able to obtain from him, in spite of his continual and pressing necessities, what was, judging from the way in which it is referred to, no easy matter, benefactions to various churches and religious houses. Nor did he hesitate, when opportunity offered, to rebuke Henry for his misdoings, and in particular to reprove him sternly for his practice of keeping bishoprics and abbeys vacant, the revenues of which during such vacancies would fall into the King's own pocket. He strove, too, to impress upon him the immense responsibilities of his position, showing him the infinite harm he did to his people by appointing unworthy men to bishoprics, and urging him to abstain from interfering with elections to churches or abbeys, which it was his duty to leave

free and untrammelled. The King would always listen quietly to what Hugh had to say, and doubtless sometimes acted in accordance with his admonitions. He never had any doubts of Hugh's sincerity and saintliness; as is shown by the fact that on one occasion, when he was in great danger of shipwreck, it was by the merits of Hugh Prior of Witham that he prayed for safety, and to those merits and intervention he believed that he owed his deliverance from his peril.* It was on this occasion, so the story went,† that Henry vowed, if he were preserved, to make Hugh a bishop.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

A. The Foundation Charter of Witham (Library of the Dean and Chapter of Wells).

H. dei gratia Rex Anglie et Dux Normannie et Aquitannie et Comes Andegauie. Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis. Uicecomitibus. et Omnibus Ministris et Fidelibus suis. Salutem. Sciatis me pro anima mea et antecessorum et successorum meorum construxisse Domum in honore Beate Marie. et Beati Iohannis Baptiste. et omnium Sanctorum. in dominio meo de Witteham de Ordine Cartusie. ut sit mea et heredum meorum dominica domus. et elemosina. et concessisse eidem Domui et fratribus ibidem deo seruientibus et dedisse in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam ad sustentationem eorum totam terram infra subscriptos limites liberam et quietam ab omni seruitio. In primis a Parte Septentrionali a Fossato de Parco. usque ad Hach Stoch. ab Hachstoch de Posteberi per fossatum de Berwa usque ad pratum Regis. De prato regis per medium prati. usque ad hacheweie. De hacheweie ultra Hunburna usque ad Rugelega. De Rugelega. usque ad Walecoma. De Walecoma. per Hanhefda usque Luthbroka. De Luthbroka per cursum aque usque ad Pennemera. De Pennemera usque ad Maram Willelmi filii Petri. De hac

* *M.V.*, p. 81.

† Capgrave, *Nova Legenda*, ed. C. Horstman, p. 44.

mara . usque ad Kincput. De Kincput iuxta pontem usque ad Wodecrofte Petri. De wodecrofte petri usque ad Frogmera. De Frogmera . usque ad Cleiteweia. De Cleiteweia usque ad Fleistoka. De Fleistoka . usque ad Sepsnedes weia. De Sepsnedesweia . usque ad Ruggescliua heaued. Hinc usque Chelsledes weia. De Chelsledeswei per cilium montis . usque ad Fisbornes heafde. Hinc per cursum aque . usque ad parcum. Hinc per fossatum parci . usque ad Fromweia. De Fromweia . usque ad Hachstoch. Preter hec dedi eis ad pasturas eorum apud terram de Chedderford. Ab Harechina in Hindcomesenda . usque ad Letherberga. De Letherberga . usque ad Steinberga. De Steinberga . usque ad Hoppewelle. De Hoppewelle usque ad Staberga. De Staberga . usque ad Sgaldeberga. De Sgaldeberga . usque ad Stanam et Banam. Et inde usque ad Petram perforatam per medium putei. Et de petra perforata . usque ad Schinindecliue. Et inde per uallem . usque ad Faldam Latronum. Et inde ad Kingduneswestende. De Kingeduneswestenda . per uallem uersus orientem . usque ad uiam que uadit de Pridia usque ad Chedderford. Et inde supra pratum Iohannis Marescalli . usque ad petram de Pempelestorna. De pempelestorna . per semitam usque ad collem prati Malherbe. Et inde usque ad Harestana inter pratum regis et pratum Malherbe. Et de harestana usque ad petram semite que ducit usque Hindesgrauam. Et de Hindesgraua . usque ad latam uiam. Et inde usque ad Spinam paruam. Et de illa spina . usque ad Hedewoldestinga. De hedewoldestiga usque ad puteum inter pratum regis . et pratum Rugaberga. De puteo illo . usque ad Redemera . et inde usque ad petram que facit diuisam inter pratum regis . et pratum Rugaberga. De petra illa . usque ad aliam petram. Et de illa petra . usque ad Petram de Cliua. Et de Petra de Cliua usque ad latam petram. Et de lata petra . usque ad Melestiesenda. De Melestiesenda . usque ad stanrodam. Et inde ad Begesethle. De Begesethle . usque ad Elweie. De Elweie . ad Sigodesfeld. Et inde per uallem de Smeletuma . usque ad Croftam Rogeri. De crofta Rogeri . usque ad Rugelega. De Rugelega . ad Clotlega. De clotlega . usque ad crucem de Melcweia. Et inde . usque ad Smeletuma. De smeletoma . usque ad Leswiesmere. Et inde . ad

Snedelesputte. Et inde . ad Eilsiesmede. Et inde ad Bikwelle. Et inde . ad suthemeste Rodberga. Et inde ad Furcas. De Furcis . per cauum ductum ad platam petram. Et de plata petra . ad Horswelle. De Horswelle ad Hindeswelle. Et inde ad Walborgam. De Walborga . ad Harachinam. Quare uolo et firmiter precipio quod supradicta domus mea de Witteham et Fratres ordinis Cartusie in ea deo seruientes omnia predicta habeant et teneant in libera et perpetua elemosina . ita bene et in pace . libere et quiete . integre et plenarie et honorifice . cum omnibus libertatibus suis . sicut ea unquam liberus tenui. Et cum liberis consuetudinibus suis tam de priore eligendo quam de aliis consuetudinibus quas habet domus Chartusie. In bosco et plano. In pratis et pascuis. In aquis et molendinis. In uiuariis et stagnis . et Piscariis . et Mariscis. In uiis et semitis . et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad ea pertinentibus . libera et quieta de Geldis et denegeldis . et Hidagiis et scutagiis . et operationibus castellorum . et pontium . et Parcorum . et fossarum . et domorum. De theloneo uero et Passagio . et paagio . et Pontagio . et Lestagio . et de omni seruitio et consuetudine . et omni questu pecuniario ad me pertinente . sint liberi et quieti per totam terram [meam ta]m ultra mare . quam citra mare. Et de essartis et regardo Foreste infra terminos suos. Et de siris et hundredis . et sectis Syrarum et Hundredorum . et placitis et querelis omnibus. Et omnes terre eorum de quibus solebat dari Murdrum . in perpetuum sint quiete de Murdro . et de omni exactione et uexatione et inquietatione mundana. Prohibeo etiam ne Forestarii uel eorum Ministri aliquam eis molestiam faciant infra limites suos . nec ingredientibus uel egredientibus per eos Siquis autem contra hanc piam donationem meam uenire . uel eam in aliquo perturbare seu diminuere presumpserit . iram omnipotentis dei et meam maledictionem incurrat . nisi ad condignam satisfactionem uenerit. Omnibus uero misericorditer amplectentibus et in pace fouentibus sit pax . et remuneratio ab eterno patre in secula seculorum amen.

Testibus . Hugone Dunholm . Gaufrido Elyen . Iohanne Norwicen . Reginaldo Bathon . Episcopis . Iohanne filio meo . Comite Willelmo Susex . Rannulfo de Glanuilla ,

Waltero Filio Roberti . Reginaldo de Curtenay . Hugone Bard . et Hugone de Morwic . Senescallis . Radulfo filio Stephani Camerario . Gilleberto Filio Reinfridi . Gaufrido Filio Petri . Roberto de Witefeld . Michaele Belet . apud Merlebergam.

Extract from Charter of Gilbert of Norfolk (*Wells Register,* iii, f. 81*b*). H. dei gratia (*etc.*). Sciatis me dedisse (*etc.*). Gilberto de Norfolc subscriptas octo libratas terre in manerio meo de Northcory in excambium terre sue de parua Witeham quam dedi fratribus de Chartosa in elemosinam . tenendas de Gilberto Malet per idem seruitium per quod tenebat de eo ipsam terram suam de Witeham uidelicet sex uirgatas terre (*etc.*).

CHAPTER IV

WITHAM

Now that the building of the monastery was at last seriously taken in hand, and at least the most necessary accommodation for the brethren provided, after so much worry and difficulty, it was possible for Hugh and his companions to return to the normal life of the Carthusian Rule. Adam, who gives us a description of his life at Witham, doubtless derived much of what he tells us from Hugh himself, but he was also careful to get all the information he could on the subject from the monks at Witham, on those occasions when he accompanied Hugh when Bishop of Lincoln in his regular retreats to his old home.

Hugh's whole life at Witham was carefully mapped out, and was spent in prayer, and reading, and meditation, and in loving and sympathetic intercourse with the brethren who were committed to his care. He allowed only the minimum for sleep; and so imbued was he in the habit of prayer that even in his sleep, Adam tells us, he would pray, and was often heard to utter aloud the word "Amen." In his cell he always read while eating, so as to make the best use of his time. If it was a feast-day, and he ate with the brethren in the refectory, he set the example of listening carefully to the reading. Water was, as a rule, his only drink, though wine was permitted. His condiment to all his meals was the Word of God. Everywhere and on all occasions he always gave his whole attention to the matter he had in hand, and constantly urged his brethren to do the same. In this

practice he was consistent in every respect, even extending it to his sleeping, for the moment he laid his head down he would go to sleep. Until his last illness, Adam says, he never lay awake after he had gone to bed, and if he were unexpectedly aroused for any reason would rise and pray and go to sleep again at once.

Here may be mentioned Hugh's great love of animals. Even while a monk at the Chartreuse he had succeeded so well in taming the birds and squirrels of the neighbouring woods that they would come to his cell and share his meals with him, eating out of his plate and from his hand. But eventually this taming of birds and squirrels was forbidden by the Prior, lest he should find in it too much pleasure, and so it would hinder him in his devotions. This same love for the dumb creatures appears again at Witham. While he was there one little bird in particular, that is called a *burneta*, and was probably some kind of finch, used to come in just the same way and share his meals with him, eating from his plate and out of his hand. It stayed with him till nesting-time, when it departed, but later returned and brought, moreover, its family with it. This little bird stayed with him for three years, and disappeared at last in the fourth year, when it probably died.

Under Hugh's rule of Witham and the strict discipline which he maintained, the reputation of the house soon began to grow, and before long its fame spread throughout England. Much always depended on the character and personality of the head of a religious house, who could soon make or mar its name. Many men of learning, of position, of wealth, attracted by what they heard of him, left the world and submitted themselves to Hugh's guidance. Life in the world in those rough times was so full of uncertainty, trouble, and peril, that a well-ordered religious community always appealed to those involved in this world's concerns as a haven of peace and rest. It was not only

laymen who were thus attracted, and who usually became *conversi,* or lay brethren, but even monks of other houses, and regular clergy, sought to transfer themselves to the rule of so wise and holy a pastor. But Hugh, in accordance with the Carthusian Rule, which lays great stress on the care that is to be taken in receiving new members into the Order, was very cautious in accepting those who applied to be admitted into his house, and admitted them only after very careful testing. Even so he did not always judge men's characters aright, for some whom he did admit afterwards failed him and deserted the Order. This was not altogether surprising, for Witham was the first Carthusian house to be founded in England, and it was quite possible for men to be much impressed by the great reputation of the house, and to take upon themselves the Rule, without realizing fully the extreme and peculiar strictness of the Carthusian method of life, which was quite different from, and without parallel in, any other existing Order. One* of these failures was Andrew, monk and sacrist of Muchelney; another was Alexander of Lewis, a secular priest who held the degree of Doctor, but was more conversant, Adam remarks, with the Quadrivium, or the Arts, than with the Gospel. They found the rule of life too severe for them to endure, and blamed Hugh for misleading them. This happened, apparently, soon after the establishment of the house, and the desertion of these two men was a source of much anxiety to Hugh, who was afraid of the effect their example might have on others, and especially on the more recent *conversi.* So these two left Witham.

Much later, almost at the end of Hugh's life, Alexander, who had become a monk of Clugny, was moved with a desire to return to Witham, and sought Adam's help to exert his influence on the Bishop to enable him to do so, but in vain. It may be added that Alexander had made himself troublesome at Clugny, and he seems

* *M.V.*, p. 87.

to have been a difficult sort of person. Hugh made it a fast and definite rule never to receive back under any circumstances any who had once deserted the Order, whether brother or *conversus*. His view, which was probably right, was that such instability proved conclusively that such men were quite unfitted for this solitary contemplative life, though he recognized that none the less they might possess a true religious vocation and live quite happy and useful lives under some other rule which allowed more activity. The other failure, Andrew, returned to his original home at Muchelney.

But now that the house was well in hand so far as buildings were concerned, there were other things that demanded attention. One of these was the gathering together of a library. In particular Hugh was anxious to obtain copies of the Holy Scriptures, for he was always insistent on the importance, especially in the case of the religious, of an intimate familiarity with the Bible. The Scriptures, he would say, are in times of peace and calm a source of joy and a wealth of devotion; in time of warfare with temptation they provide the soul with its weapons and armour; they are a medicine in spiritual distress and weakness, and most helpful for prayer.

It happened, in this connexion, that on one occasion when talking to the King, he referred to the house's great lack of books.* The King suggested that he should hire copyists and so procure the books which he desired to have and to this suggestion Hugh answered that they had no vellum. "And how much money," Henry asked, "would you want to supply this need?" "A silver marc," he answered, "would go quite a long way." The King laughed and said. "What an extravagant demand to make of us!" and forthwith bade that ten marcs should be given to the monk who accompanied Hugh. He also promised to

* *M.V.*, p. 92.

make a present to Witham of a complete copy of the Holy Scriptures.

Henry remembered this promise of a Bible, and had inquiries made for a suitable copy, and at length heard that the monks of Winchester had just finished a most beautiful and elaborate copy which they intended for the reading at meals in the refectory. Henry at once sent to the Prior of Winchester and asked for this copy, promising ample payment for it, and of course got the book. It was immediately sent off to Witham, where the Prior and monks, quite unaware of the manner in which Henry had acquired it, much admired the beauty and richness of the handiwork.

Now it came about that not very long after this a monk of Winchester happened to visit Witham, and in the course of conversation he quite innocently told the whole story of the King's method of acquiring the book, and how very urgent the King had been in the matter. He went on to say that it was a great source of satisfaction to the monks of Winchester that the volume had been so well bestowed, and apologized for the fact that since it had been written for their own benefit the Lessons were arranged according to the Winchester use. If this had proved inconvenient to the Carthusians, he undertook to have even a better copy made, which should follow in its arrangement any instructions that Hugh should give.

But the Prior was amazed when he heard the story. "Do you mean to say," he asked, "that the King deprived your church of so necessary a work as this? Believe me, dearest brother, your Bible shall be at once given back to you. Moreover, in your person we most sincerely beg all your brethren to pardon our humility, in that it was on our account, though indeed quite without our knowledge, that they suffered the loss of their book."

The monk hurriedly expostulated, and begged Hugh not to think of such a thing, for as a matter of fact

the Winchester community had been very glad of the opportunity of obliging the King.

"And is it true," asked Hugh, "that you will be able to count on his favour for this reason more than in the past? and are you not sad at having to pay such a price for this object?"

The brother answered that they had been overjoyed at being able to please the King.

"Well," answered the Prior dryly, "in order that you may not be robbed of your joy, it is necessary for everyone concerned that the restitution of this precious work should be made to you secretly. But if you refuse to have your Bible back, I shall return it to him who sent it here to us. If you like to take it back now, no word of the transaction, so far as we are concerned, shall reach him."

So the precious volume was returned to the monks of Winchester, who were glad enough to have it back again, but still more delighted, we are told, at the sweet disposition of the sender, and the proof of the sincerity of his charity. Adam points to this story as characteristic of Hugh, and as a good example of the true practical religion of this man of God, who did not forget, in his love of God, that it was likewise his duty to love his neighbour also.

CHAPTER V

ELECTION AS BISHOP OF LINCOLN

During May 1186 King Henry held a Council of Bishops and Barons at Eynsham, near Oxford, to deal with various important matters affecting the realm. Among these various matters was the appointment of prelates to vacant bishoprics and abbacies, including the Bishopric of Lincoln. To Eynsham therefore came, according to the custom of the land, a deputation of the Chapter of Lincoln to elect in the King's Chapel their new Bishop.

The see of Lincoln was at this time of great extent, spreading over no less than nine counties and possessing eight Archdeaconries, those of Lincoln, Stow, Bedford, Oxford, Buckingham, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Leicester. It contained many large and important towns, and a great population. But though it was so populous and important it had suffered most grievously for some time past from the most shameful neglect. In 1167 Bishop Robert of Chesney had died, and though in 1173 Geoffrey Plantagenet, the King's natural son, had been appointed to the see, and had been Bishop-elect from 1173 to 1182, he had never been consecrated, and in this latter year was forced to resign the see. On July 3, 1183, after the diocese had been without a Bishop for sixteen years, Walter of Coutances was consecrated, only to be translated the next year to the Archbishopric of Rouen. It is not difficult to imagine how grievous must have been the condition of the diocese after these years of neglect.

At this time the King was beginning to feel, accord-

ing to various contemporary writers, some prickings of conscience for his scandalous neglect of the Church, and had piously resolved not only to fill up all vacancies, but in the interests of true religion to appoint the best and worthiest men that he could find for them. In the case of Lincoln in particular great pressure had been brought to bear upon Henry by Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury and the heads of various great religious houses to take into due consideration the special needs and circumstances of this diocese and the necessity of setting a really good and energetic ruler over the see.

The Chapter at Lincoln at this time possessed a somewhat outstanding position, and were famous for their learning and wealth and worldliness.* Several of the Canons held important offices in the King's court, and so great was their reputation, and the wealth and influence that they enjoyed, that they were commonly believed to regard their position as quite equal to that of a Bishop. But Adam sarcastically remarks that nevertheless there were some among them who, whether out of consideration of the "good work," to use the words of the Apostle (1 Tim. iii. 1), or out of mere worldly ambition, would have been ready to accept a bishopric if pressed upon them.

The Canons, then, who had come to Eynsham to represent the Chapter at the election of their new Bishop, duly met for the purpose in the King's Chapel. Wishing to please the King, they selected Richard Fitzneal, their Dean, who was also Treasurer of the Kingdom; Geoffrey de Luci, Canon of Lincoln, and one of Henry's chaplains; and Herbert le Poor, Canon of Lincoln, Chaplain to the King, and Archdeacon of Canterbury, as men of virtuous and decent life, and well known to the King, hoping that he would be pleased to choose one of them. They were all of them distinguished men, and all of them became Bishops eventually, Richard Fitzneal of London, Geoffrey de

* *M.V.*, p. 102.

Luci of Winchester, and Herbert le Poor of Salisbury.

The King, however, would have none of them, remarking that they were all of them rich enough already, and saying that he had resolved to let no other consideration than the serving of God weigh with him in the future in such matters as this. As a matter of fact Henry had already definitely made up his mind to appoint Hugh, and his name was now submitted to the Canons. They were much surprised and taken aback at the suggestion. Hugh's real holiness, his tact, his accessibility, his great honesty and sincerity, were all urged on them, but for a time they refused even to entertain the idea. They objected that the very strictness of the Order to which he belonged, the fact that he was a foreigner, his inability to speak English, all told against his fitness for such a position. But at length, when they understood clearly that he was the King's choice, they listened to the advice of wiser men than themselves, and ended by electing Hugh unanimously. On the result of the election being reported to the King, he at once gave his consent, to the great satisfaction of the Bishops and nobles present, and the Archbishop duly confirmed the election. Messengers were thereupon dispatched to Witham bearing with them the Royal Letters and the Archbishop's mandate, and bidding Hugh present himself with as little delay as possible to make the necessary arrangements for his consecration.

But Hugh, who had no idea of the promotion that was coming to him, at once began to make objections. In the first place, he declared, he was unworthy, and in the second place was quite unfitted for such an office. He quite understood, he said, that the promoting of one whom he himself had brought to England from another country would be gratifying to the King, and that Archbishop Baldwin, who was himself a monk, would naturally desire to add to the number of monks among his suffragans. Then he proceeded to a more

serious objection, the circumstances in which his election took place, alleging that it was null and void, and flatly refusing to recognize it. His objection was that, instead of the election taking place in the Chapter House of Lincoln, as it should have done, or even in the King's Palace at Westminster, or at a Council of Bishops, where possibly it might be free from disturbance and interference, the election had actually been made at Eynsham in circumstances that seemed to him casual and irregular. So he dismissed the messengers, declaring that he could not recognize such an election as valid.*

The Lincoln Chapter was much surprised and impressed when they heard of this decision, and began to congratulate themselves on their choice, realizing that a man who showed such virtue at the outset gave much promise of proving himself an excellent ruler. Some of them had been complaining that they had been unduly influenced and cajoled into electing a foreigner, probably an uncouth and unmannerly person, as their Bishop; but now on this evidence of his goodness they changed their minds entirely, and Hugh was at once elected again with due form in the Chapter House of Lincoln. Once again messengers, more than before, came to Hugh with letters from King and Archbishop and Chapter, and once more Hugh refused to accept the bishopric. This time it was a matter of discipline, since he was subject still to the Prior of the Great Chartreuse, and he would not accept the appointment unless he were definitely ordered to do so by the Head of the Order. Adam tells us that Hugh had long known that he was destined to become a Bishop, but, dreading the responsibility, strove to put off the day as long as possible.

It became necessary now to refer the matter to the Prior of the Chartreuse, and a deputation set out carrying the necessary documents from Chapter, King, and Archbishop. There was no hesitation at the

* *M.V.*, p. 106.

Chartreuse, and the messengers returned at once with a formal order from the Prior and brethren to render canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and submit himself in this matter to the yoke of the Lord without delay or hesitation.*

It may be as well here to examine the grounds of Hugh's objections to his first election at Eynsham. By the Constitutions of Clarendon it was expressly laid down that in the vacancy of any archbishopric or bishopric, or royal abbey or priory, the King should summon the chief persons of the Church in question to the King's Chapel, and that there the election should be made, with the assent of the King and counsel of the chief personages of the kingdom, whom the King should call together for the purpose; and that there the prelate-elect should do homage to the King before his consecration. Now, it is frequently asserted in text-books that the repeal of the Constitutions of Clarendon was one of the conditions of Henry's absolution for the murder of St. Thomas, but this statement seems to be quite unjustified. Roger Hoveden † says nothing about any such repudiation of the Constitutions when he gives the particulars of the King's act of purgation. On that occasion he swore that he would permit appeals to the Pope and would not place any obstacle in their way; and also that he would utterly abolish such customs as had been introduced in his own time which were injurious to the churches of his land. Now, this is by no means a repudiation of the Constitutions. When they were first promulgated, Henry expressly declared that there was nothing new in them, but that they simply reduced to order and writing the ancient and accepted customs of the land; and there is no ground for doubting that this was a true statement. The injurious customs which Henry promised to give up in his purgation were probably the keeping sees and monasteries vacant

* *M.V.*, p. 109.
† R. Hoveden (R.S.), ii, p. 35.

for long periods, which was most injurious to the Church generally. But it will be noticed that it was not this method of election in itself to which Hugh objected, for he would have accepted it apparently if it had taken place in the chapel of the King's palace at Westminster; but to the fact that it had taken place at Eynsham. This niceness of distinction is rather typical of Hugh in such matters and is, I think, due to his upbringing. He had spent his whole life in a cloister and was simply a Churchman and nothing more; not a Burgundian, nor now an Englishman. He had no sense whatever of patriotism, and the laws and customs of the realm meant nothing to him as such, but were only respected by him so far as they seemed to him just and righteous.

It may be noticed, too, that this method of election was that generally followed, for when some years later, in 1199, Hugh was at Angers, there was at the same time in that city a deputation from the Chapter of Hereford on their way to the King, even when he was abroad, to elect a Bishop of Hereford in the usual manner. This case is parallel with that of his own election at Eynsham, and Hugh made no protest in this case. Indeed, Hugh must have become less particular in such matters later, for in June 1193 King Richard wrote to his mother to bid such Bishops as could, to go to Canterbury, and there "elect" Hubert Walter as Archbishop. There is no record of any protest then on Hugh's part, as there certainly would have been had he protested, against the regularity of such an "election." Curiously enough, it was John who ultimately, for his own reasons, granted the Church complete freedom of election.

Hugh, then, on receiving the command of the Prior of the Chartreuse, submitted humbly to his destiny. Adam describes how he prepared himself for his consecration: "Giving himself up day and night with all instancy to compunction of heart and sincere and unceasing prayer, he prepared, not an array of gor-

geous vestments in a spirit of self-satisfaction, nor a supply of splendid vessels in a spirit of vain-glory, but his soul for the temptations which lay before him." * So, humbly and piously, with a full sense of the responsibilities that would fall upon him, he strove to fortify himself by the grace of God, and to fit himself, as well as he might, to carry out the functions of this office which had been thrust on him unsought.

In September 1186, three months after the date of his election, he set out to seek "the mountain which the Lord should tell him of": "the glorious mountain," Adam explains, "not of Libanon but of Lincoln"; in other words to go to London for his consecration.†

His progress on his journey was very characteristic. He rode simply and plainly dressed on a horse unadorned with ornaments, carrying strapped behind his saddle a bundle containing a change of day and night clothes. It must have been a strange sight, the humble figure of the Bishop-elect surrounded by a group of sleek, well-liking clergy on horses jingling with gilt trapping. We are told how these same clergy tried, by every means they could think of, to get hold of that wretched bundle, and commit it to one of the pack-horses, but in vain. Hugh had determined from the first to retain as far as possible in his new sphere his humble mode of life, and these worldly-minded clerks were put to blush by the exhibition of the good man's humility. As they drew near to Winchester, where the King and his court were residing at the time, a great multitude of citizens came out to meet and welcome him, and then at last one of the clerks did manage to cut the cords and secretly abstract the obnoxious bundle. Arriving at London, Hugh was consecrated by Archbishop Baldwin on St. Matthew's Day (September 21), 1186, and with him at the same time was consecrated William de Northall to the see of Worcester. The King was present in

* *M.V.*, p. 110. † *M.V.*, p. 112.

person at the consecration, and signified his supreme satisfaction at this appointment of his by bestowing magnificent presents on Hugh, vessels of gold and silver, and many other things for the Bishop's personal use, and last and not least—paying out of his own pocket the whole of the expenses connected with the solemn ceremony.

The newly consecrated Bishop proceeded at once to Lincoln to be enthroned. The story was told,* how that on the night before his enthronization, he heard in a dream a voice saying, "Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, even for salvation with thine anointed" (Hab. iii. 13). In later days it was the custom for the Bishops of Lincoln to spend the night before they were enthroned at the Gilbertine Priory of St. Katharine without Lincoln, and the next morning to walk barefooted up to the cathedral. But it is very improbable that this custom had as yet arisen. The Priory was founded in 1148 by Bishop Robert de Chesney, who endowed it with the Prebend of Canwick, an act that was long remembered against him. This grant was confirmed by King Henry in Hugh's own days. It is subsequent to this that we find reference made to a clerk maintained by the Prior of St. Katharine's in the cathedral, and this clerk was probably there as Vicar representing the Priory as possessor of the Prebend of Canwick. It would seem likely that this connexion between the two is the origin of the custom in question. It may be added that there is no reference in any of the authorities to St. Katharine's in connexion with St. Hugh's enthronization.

The unfortunate Archdeacon of Canterbury whose duty it was, and still is, to enthrone, as representative of the Archbishop, the newly elected Bishop, and who, in "the good old days," as doubtless the Archdeacon would describe them, made a great profit out of his

* N. Trivet, p. 168. Report of Papal Commissioners, *M.L.*, I. 720, *etc.*

perquisites on such occasions, in this case came off but badly. When he asked the new Bishop for the customary *donarium,* Hugh answered, "What I gave for my mitre, that and no more will I give for my throne." * His inexperience of worldly concerns was also shown when he was asked by his steward how many deer might be taken from his parks to provide venison for his enthronement feast, and Hugh answered, "You may take three hundred, and do not hesitate to take more if you think that number insufficient." The story of the good man's simplicity and lack of worldly experience was noised abroad, and "Bishop Hugh's deer" became a sort of byword with the King and his followers. So Hugh became Hugh of Lincoln.

NOTE TO CHAPTER V

The Constitutions of Clarendon on the Election of Bishops

12. Cum vacaverit archiepiscopatus vel episcopatus vel abbatia vel prioratus de dominio regis, debet esse in manu ipsius et inde percipiet omnes reditus et exitus sicut dominicos. Et quum ventum fuerit ad consulendum ecclesiae, debet dominus rex mandare potiores personas ecclesiae et in capella ipsius domini regis debet fieri electio assensu domini regis et consilio personarum regni, quos ad hoc faciendum vocaverit. Et ibi faciet electus homagium et fidelitatem domino regi sicut ligio domino, de vita sua et de membris et de honore suo terreno, salvo ordine suo, priusquam sit consecratus.

* *M.V.,* p. 115.

CHAPTER VI

BISHOP OF LINCOLN

HUGH came to Lincoln with an unusual reputation for holiness, and it was soon evident to his people that their new Bishop would be very different from those of whom they had had experience in the past. But for Hugh himself the change in his life and outlook must have been almost overwhelming. He was now forty-six years old, and the whole of those forty-six years, with the exception of those of his early childhood, had been lived without a break in cloistered solitude. His outlook on life generally must therefore have been very narrow and circumscribed, as the whole of his dealings with the outside world had been confined to such matters as had to do with the affairs of his House. It is obvious that at first his life as Bishop must have been most difficult. He had much to learn, and much experience to gain, both as regards men and matters, before he could become really effective as a ruler of a great diocese. Gerald de Barri * gives us some hint of his difficulties and first mistakes, for he tells us that at first Hugh was not very successful, showing himself stern and vehement and unfamiliar with the ordinary conditions of life, but that gradually he learnt to understand better the ways of the country, and to conform himself more and more to the methods and ways of an English Bishop.

One of Hugh's first concerns and cares was to adorn his cathedral by appointing to the Canonries the most distinguished men that he could secure, that he might be able to rely on their assistance and advice

* vii, p. 77.

in the government of his see, to the benefit of clergy and people alike. So he sought diligently not only throughout England, but in the Universities abroad, for men of wisdom and learning, but above all imbued with the fear of God, on whom to bestow the dignities of his cathedral. Not content with his own activities in this matter, he wrote to the Archbishop asking him to help him, inasmuch as being himself a stranger and foreigner he was not in a position to know of Englishmen of merit and learning. The Archbishop readily gave him the guidance that he asked for, much pleased by this evidence of Hugh's zeal and humble-mindedness. Archbishop Baldwin and Hugh had in a way much in common. Both were monks and both were good and holy men, with but one object in view, the glory of God and the good of His holy Church. But Baldwin was a failure and Hugh a great success. It is perhaps this similarity and dissimilarity between them that moves Gerald to contrast the two, and his comparison is not without interest.* "Both," he remarks, "were learned men, but Hugh was very learned (*literatissimus*). Baldwin was slow and sparing of speech, Hugh was eloquent and ready of tongue. Baldwin was always severe and sour of aspect, while Hugh seemed always cheerful and jolly and free from care. The one was a Diogenes, the other a Democritus. Baldwin was slow and difficult to move to anger, and indeed to anything else, but Hugh was quick enough to flare out angrily on due cause being given him. Baldwin was easy, Hugh was firm; Baldwin lukewarm, Hugh full of zeal. Baldwin let things go, but Hugh, on the other hand, was very strict." In other words, while Baldwin was one of those good and holy men of utterly unattractive and almost repellent personality, Hugh, on the other hand, was endowed with the great gift of attracting to himself at once by his personal charm all with whom he came into contact.

* vii, p. 68.

In process of time Hugh was able by the care he took in his appointments to make the church of Lincoln famous, says his biographer, throughout the world. Among those whom he promoted in his cathedral may be mentioned Haimo, whom he made Dean in 1189, and Roger de Rolleston in succession to him in 1195, having been previously appointed Archdeacon of Leicester in 1189. Winemer became Archdeacon of Northampton in 1192. William de Bleys, who succeeded Hugh as Bishop, became Subdean in 1187 and Precentor in 1196. Roger de Hardreys was made Archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1191; Reimund, who will be mentioned later, Archdeacon of Leicester in 1195; Richard de Caune Archdeacon of Northampton in 1198. But among those whom he appointed were two whose fame has lived long after them, Walter Map the Precentor, whom Hugh made Archdeacon of Oxford, and William of Leicester, better known as de Monte or de Montibus, the great scholar and Canonist, who became Chancellor in 1192. Two who owed their appointment to Archbishop Baldwin's recommendation were Roger de Rolleston, who was Dean when Adam was writing his Life, and Roger of Bedford. There is a list of Canons at the end of the great Bible in the Chapter Library, made about 1185, that is just before Hugh came to Lincoln, in which most of these names occur in some capacity.

Not only was Hugh eager to procure men of repute for his Chapter, but he was also anxious to procure that the Canons should reside, so far as possible, at Lincoln. For this reason he was always most unwilling to give Canonries to men who were employed at Court, or held cathedral appointments elsewhere, although some certainly did this, for Walter Map, for example, was also Canon of Hereford. Adam tells a story that illustrates Hugh's attitude on this matter.* A certain eminent theologian, a Canon of

* *M.V.*, p. 132.

Paris, wrote to Hugh and asked for a stall at Lincoln. Hugh answered that he would gladly have such a man in his Chapter if he would undertake to reside. This personage, who "ruled the schools at Paris," was, Adam unkindly remarks, "more celebrated for his learning than for the regularity of his life." At any rate, Hugh's answer put an end to his desire for a Canonry at Lincoln.

If Hugh was not able to procure residence, he could at least put an end to scandals. One of his few extant letters deals with this subject of residence. The theory of a cathedral is of a body of Canons who should live together as a confraternity, and so of course all be in residence. But in process of time this had broken down in practice, many of the Canons preferring not to reside. A Canonry constituted membership of the Chapter. Certain Canons held also dignities, that is, offices which entailed particular duties in the Cathedral, and Canons who held such dignities were, generally speaking, obliged to reside continually at Lincoln in connexion with these duties. A dignity did not, and does not, give a seat in Chapter, but was of course always held by a Canon. The dignities at Lincoln were the Deanery, the Precentorship, the Treasurership (now extinct), the Chancellorship, and the Subdeanery. The case of the Canons who did not hold dignities was different. They were all responsible for their courses in the daily services, but in these they might be represented by vicars, clerks whom they provided to undertake these cathedral duties for them. But each Canonry had its own endowment, which was of course in land, and called a Prebend, and on each prebendal estate was a church for which the Canon or Prebendary was responsible. Each Canon therefore had two distinct sets of duties—his course in the Cathedral, and the cure of souls in his prebendal church; and he had to choose between putting a Vicar in his church and giving his personal service to the cathedral, or serving his church in

person, and appointing a Vicar to represent him at the cathedral. The growing tendency was for Canons to prefer to reside on their prebends, where they had many interests, and have their Vicars at Lincoln. One of the results of this was that, owing to distances, the badness of the roads, and the perils of travelling, their attendances at Chapter meetings were few and far between, and this left the affairs of the Chapter in the hands of the residing dignitaries and one or two others. The Canons who did not reside had to pay a " septism," or the tax of a seventh part of their prebendal income, to the Common Fund from which the residents benefited, and thus both parties, resident and non-resident, were content. But another result was that the non-residents showed a tendency not to provide a Vicar at Lincoln, or to provide unsatisfactory clerks and pay them insufficiently. It is with this matter that the letter of Hugh in question chiefly deals, and in it he gives authority to the Chapter to put pressure on such absent Canons. Both the character of Vicars to be appointed, and the amount of the salary that was to be paid them, were to be submitted to those in residence and subject to their approval. In the same letter Hugh gives authority to the Chapter to excommunicate, without an interference on the part of Archdeacons or Rural Deans, any who should in any way withhold or diminish the property of the Common Fund of the cathedral.

Another matter in connexion with the cathedral was reformed in Hugh's time. It was the rule for each Canon to say daily an office consisting of certain psalms allotted to him, and a prayer for the living and dead. This office was either falling into disuse, or some confusion had arisen in connexion with the allocation of the psalms to the different canonries. This matter was settled by a redistribution of the psalms by the Chapter, Hugh being present, the first three psalms being assigned to the Bishop in virtue of his own canonry.

But Hugh was not only concerned with the clergy of the Chapter, he also showed a great paternal solicitude for his clergy generally. He was always ready to help and sympathize with them in their many difficulties, though he did not hesitate, when necessary, to rebuke and punish. He was careful in his appointments, but did not rely simply on his own estimate of men's characters, being always willing to listen to the opinion of other people. While he bade one of his chaplains, doubtless Adam himself, never to conceal from him anything he might know against any whom Hugh was likely to promote, nevertheless he never took the slightest notice of idle rumour or gossip. Whenever a benefice fell vacant he took infinite trouble to try to select men of good repute and education, who seemed fitted for the particular work, at the same time trying his best to prevent the presentation of men of ill fame and those who were unlettered. "I wonder," he said on one occasion,* "how some Bishops can possibly rejoice, as they are said to do, when prebends or churches become vacant, so that they are able to confer them on new incumbents of their own choice. I certainly speak the truth of myself when I assert that nothing in life has been such a trouble to me as the anxiety and sense of responsibility that I have felt in selecting and finding suitable men to whom to commit the prebends or dignities of our Church, when such vacancies have occurred. Nor has anything in this world ever caused me so much grief as when I have made a mistake and have, often on the recommendation of many different people, bestowed benefices on men whom I thought energetic and conscientious, but who have proved afterwards, when endowed with the Church's property, idle and unsatisfactory in conduct."

We learn from the Chronicle of Abbot Benedict of Peterborough that on becoming Bishop Hugh issued a series of regulations dealing with the spiritual

* *M.V.*, p. 247.

rights of his people. It is possible that these, of which only the headings are given, are simply extracts from a series of Constitutions which have not survived. It was very common for a Bishop at this period to issue Constitutions, which were a set of instructions to parish priests, dealing with the due administration of the Sacraments, their parochial duties, and their relations with their people generally. These particular Statutes of Hugh deal chiefly with the administration of justice in ecclesiastical courts, and forbid the common abuse of buying and selling of Masses.

The reputation which Hugh soon acquired as Bishop is shown by the fact that before long he was consulted by no less a person than the Archbishop himself in a difficulty in which he had become involved. In 1188 Baldwin was having trouble, as many other Archbishops had, with the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. Canterbury was a regular cathedral, not secular, the Prior and Monks of Christ Church serving as Dean and Chapter. The cause of this quarrel was the Archbishop's desire to build at Hackington, about a mile from Canterbury, a College of secular Canons which he proposed to dedicate to St. Stephen and St. Thomas the Martyr. The monks vigorously opposed this scheme as likely to be injurious to them as keepers of St. Thomas's shrine, which was already a source of great wealth to the cathedral. Hugh's answer, when asked for his advice, was as follows:* "If this undertaking of yours, my Lord Archbishop, be likely to cause a schism between you and your Chapter, which would be much to be regretted, it will inevitably result in the loosening of the strictness of discipline in that body and a lessening of the maintenance of order. No one can estimate beforehand what great perils will ensue from such a condition of things to the souls of those concerned. You will find it necessary, moreover, to depend on the King's assistance for the enforcing of your authority, and this you will

* *M.V.*, p. 134.

only obtain at the cost of humbling yourself to him. You will also have to subject yourself to the arrogance and timorousness of the Roman Curia and of different personages in high places occupying various positions of influence. You will also have to fear the various impulses and considerations that will move the Supreme Pontiff himself from hour to hour and time to time, and finally he will order your work to be demolished, whether it be completed or only just begun, if he comes to the conclusion that it has been conceived to anyone's hurt or prejudice." The event proved that Hugh was right in his opinion, which quite clearly shows that he considered Baldwin's scheme at best ill advised, for the Archbishop was forced to give it up and actually to demolish such of the work as had been done.

But Hugh found that his time was not by any means all his own to devote to his pastoral work. He was much with the King, and frequently occupied in his service. One of the greatest hindrances to their pastoral duty to which medieval bishops were subject was the constant demand on their time and service by the King. This was unavoidable, inasmuch as the clergy alone had an education, and were therefore the only members of the community who were capable of holding such an office, for example, as the Chancellorship, or of acting as ambassadors to foreign courts. And Hugh, as we have seen, was very highly esteemed by Henry, who sought his advice constantly in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. Hugh was present at the Council of Marlborough in 1186. In 1188 he was also present at the council which the King held at Geddington in Northamptonshire, at which, in response to the appeal made by Pope Urban VIII for help for the Holy Land, on the arrival of the dire news of the taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens, the King imposed the Saladin tithe on England. At this council, we are told, Hugh himself, with John Bishop of Norwich and many others, took the Cross. Later

in the same year Henry sent Hugh with Baldwin of Canterbury as ambassadors to Philip of France. Hugh was again in France in 1189, and took part at the conference between Henry, Richard, and Philip at La Ferté Bernard. He was in France at the time of King Henry's death, returning to England in Richard's suite. Thus it will be seen that no small amount of his time and energies were spent on the King's service.

Another matter which seriously engaged the mind of Hugh from the day that he arrived at Lincoln was the rebuilding of his cathedral. On his accession to the bishopric he had found the cathedral church in a ruinous condition, for on April 15, 1185, it had been, Benedict tells us, "split from top to bottom" by the great earthquake.* The cathedral had been built by Remigius when he transferred the seat of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln. It had of course been in the Norman style and would seem to have been not well constructed. Of this older building there remains only the west front, which was not unskilfully adapted and included in the new west front of the later building. Hugh set himself with great zeal to build the new cathedral, seeking help and money for the purpose on every side and in every way. It is perhaps in this connexion that we owe a letter written by him to the Archdeacons of the diocese, urging them to move their clergy to more regular observance of the Pentecostal processions. These processions took place during Whit Week, and were not peculiar to the diocese of Lincoln, but were generally observed in other cathedral churches with the same object, which was to obtain support from the diocese for the Fabric Fund. Each parish priest was required to come during that week with some of his parishioners, bringing the offerings, to which everyone in the parish was expected to contribute, towards the maintenance of the mother church, and take part in the series of

* *Benedictus Abbas* (R.S.), i, 337.

devotional services that were specially arranged during this week. Judging from Hugh's letter on the subject, it would appear that the contributions from this source had been failing seriously, and he declares that this falling off is due rather to the slackness of the clergy than to any want of zeal on the part of the people. Hugh also granted, as did his successors, indulgences to all those who participated in the good work of rebuilding the church.

The new cathedral was built in the new style, and was regarded, and rightly so, as a most glorious and incomparable building. The choir only was actually built by Hugh, including probably the great transepts. The east end of the choir was apsidal as Hugh built it, and terminated just behind the present site of the high altar. The original foundations are marked out on the present floor. The features of the new building which most impressed people at the time were the pointed arches, the vaulted roof, and above all the polished shafts of Purbeck marble which surround the piers. The pointed arches and vaulted roof were not entirely new, for Hugh had already used them at Witham, where the Frary church is in the same style. Another feature of Hugh's choir was the great gilded rood, which stood on two beams, one apparently standing on the other, supported on six columns. The rood must have occupied the position of the later choir screen. We have not, as a matter of fact, a great deal of contemporary information given us as to Hugh's cathedral. Gerald says very little, and that little is of a general character. The best account is that found in the *Metrical Life of St. Hugh*, which was written during the episcopate of Hugh de Wells (1209–35).* It is still not quite certain how much was actually built in Hugh's time, but it would appear, from what the writer of this Life says, that he built the whole choir, the choir transepts, and the great nave

*ll. 833 ff. Neither the *Magna Vita* nor Giraldus says much about Hugh's new cathedral.

transepts. There is perhaps some doubt about the nave transepts, but the writer expressly refers to the "orbicular" or round windows in these transepts as being called from the first the Bishop's Eye and the Dean's Eye respectively. It is true that the architectural features of these transepts are of a later date, but they were largely destroyed by the fall of the tower in 1237 and had to be rebuilt. The same writer tells us also that the Chapter House, which was finished by Hugh de Wells, was begun by St. Hugh.

It is characteristic of St. Hugh that even in this work he gave not only of his substance and care, but actually contributed his own personal labour, taking part when he could in the building operations and sometimes carrying stones and mortar in a hod on his shoulder. It is in connexion with this that one of his miracles was wrought.* A certain cripple, so impotent that he could only get about with the help of two crutches, often watched Hugh when he was thus occupied with his hod, and came to believe that if only he were allowed to take into his own hands the hod which the good bishop used he would be cured of his infirmity. At last he was allowed to do as he desired, and as he believed so it was done unto him, for he gradually recovered the use of his limbs, being able first to dispense with one crutch, then with the other, till he was completely healed from his affliction.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

A

Hugh's Letter to the Dean and Chapter on Residence

Hugo dei gratia Lincolniensis episcopus, dilectis in christo filiis, decano et capitulo Lincolniensis ecclesiae,

* *M.L.*, ll. 841 ff. Also in the Report of the Commissioners, and *Legenda*. There is no reference to the miracle in the *Magna Vita*.

salutem et Dei benedictionem. Quia fervens habemus desiderium ut ad honorem Dei et beatae Virginis genitricis ejus Mariae in ecclesia Lincolniensi debita celebritate singulis quibusque temporibus, prout decet, divina celebrentur; ad id competenter et commode prosequendum, canonicorum et vicariorum ibi residentium utilitati prospicere cupientes, tibi decano et canonicis residentibus, et si decanus fuerit absens, tibi subdecano et canonicis residentiam facientibus, hanc potestatem indulgemus; ut nostra auctoritate licitum sit vobis coercere omnes canonicos qui non faciunt residentiam per detentionem praebendae suae ut idoneos vicarios loco suo constituant, et de communi consilio canonicorum residentium eis honestam et sufficientem sustentationem provideant. Praeterea vobis etiam hanc facimus indulgentiam, ut omnes injustos detentores communae vestrae, et omnes qui vel hominibus vel possessionibus ad eandem communam pertinentibus, injuriam, molestiam, vel gravamen intulerint, liberum sit vobis ecclesiastica censura coercere, et in eos usque ad condignam satisfactionem canonicam justitiam exercere. Salvo in omnibus jure episcopi et ejus potestate. Nec liceat archidiaconis, decanis, vel aliis officialibus Lincolniensis episcopatus, excommunicatos aut interdictos a vobis absolvere, citra mandatum episcopi vel vestri. Praecipimus autem ut sententia quae a vobis lata fuerit, per archidiaconos vel decanos, seu alios episcopatus officiales, executioni mandatur.

(*Giraldus Cambrensis* (R.S.), vii, App. E, p. 201.)

B

Decreta Domini Hugonis Lincolniensis Pontificis. 1186

Interim Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, in episcopatu suo commorans, populum sibi commissum conversatione sua et paternae exhortationis verbo aedificabat, et in synodis suis praecepit in vi obedientiae, universo tam clero quam populo sibi subditis, haec decreta inviolabiter observare. Praecepit ne pro justitia exhibenda vel acceleranda detur vel accipiatur aliquid.

Ne a vicariis pro cantaria sua quicquam detur vel exigatur.

Ne archidiaconi vel officiales eorum ecclesiam vel ecclesiasticam personam vel aliquem alium suspendere vel excommunicare citra ordinem judiciarum praesumant.

Ne laico vel alicui qui sacerdos non sit, injungatur a presbytero loco penitentiae missarum celebratio.

Quod annuales vel tricennales, vel aliquae missae ex conventione pro lucro temporali non celebrentur.

Quod nullus ad administrationem sacerdotalis officii admittatur, nisi de quo constiterit quod ab archiepiscopo Cantuarensi, vel aliquo ejus suffraganeo canonice fuerit ordinatus.

Ut qui habent beneficia ecclesiastica tonsuram habeant et coronam clericalem.

Ne clericus clericum trahat ad judicium saeculare super causa ecclesiastica.

(*Chronicle of Benedictus Abbas* (R.S.), i, p. 357.)

C

Hugh's Letter to Archdeacons on the Pentecostal Processions

Hugo Dei gratia Lincolniensis episcopus, omnibus archidiaconis et eorum officialibus per diocesim Lincolniensem constitutis salutem et Dei benedictionem. Cum cura et solicitudo Lincolniensis ecclesiae, quam Deo auctore regendam suscepimus, nos admodum invitent ea quae hactenus minus bene fuerint ordinata in meliorem statum redigere, canonicorum ibidem Deo jugiter famulantium commodo imposterum profuturo invigilare tenemur. Movemur siquidem, nec illud clausis oculis de caetero praeterire possumus, quod etiam vos movere deberet et non movemini, ad quos specialius pertinet cura et solicitudo ecclesiae Lincolniensis, quod cum tantam habeat filiorum multitudinem, ipsi eam contemnunt, ut saltem eam semel in anno, secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae nostrae, quae in aliis ecclesiis cathedralibus celebris habetur, eam in propria persona, vel de suis facultatibus condignas oblationes mittendo, negligant visitare. Quod quidem ex negligentia clericorum potius quam laicorum simplicitate novimus accidisse. Quocirca universitati vestrae auctoritate

qua fungimur praecipimus quatinus decanis, personis, presbyteris, per nostram diocesim constitutis in virtute obedientiae injungatis, ut in singulis parochiis singuli capellani fideles sibi commissos ad hoc sufficienter auctoritate inducant, quod de singulis domibus aliqui in festo Penthecostes ad locum consuetum et processionibus destinatum singulis annis satagant convenire, oblationes condignas in remissionem peccatorum suorum, et in signum obedientiae et recordationis matris suae Lincolniensis ecclesiae offerentes. Jubeatis etiam ut singuli decani personis presbyteris sibi commissis auctoritate nostra praecipiant, quatinus universi attenta solicitudine provideant, ut nominibus parochianorum suorum seorsum notatis decanis cum clericis nostris in Penthecoste ad hoc destinandis, sciant per nominum annotationes fideliter respondere, qui secundum mandatum nostrum ut filii obedientes vel venerint vel miserint, et qui mandatum nostrum transgredientes venire vel mittere neglexerunt.
(*John de Schalby* in Girald. Cambr., vii, App. E., p. 200.)

D

The Daily Office of the Canons of Lincoln

Quomodo psalmi a Canonicis dicendi sunt.
Ab unoquoque canonico post psalmos suos dicatur.
Kyrieleyson.
Xpeleyson.
Kyrieleyson.
Pater noster.
Et ne nos inducas.
Salvos fac seruos et ancillas tuas.
Anime famulorum famularumque tuarum requiescant in pace.
Domine exaudi orationem meam.
Dominus uobiscum.

Oremus

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui uiuorum dominaris simul et mortuorum omniumque misereris quos tuos fide et opere futuros esse prenoscis te supplices exoramus ut

pro quibus effundere preces decreuimus quosque uel presens seculum adhuc in carne retinet uel futurum iam exutos corpore suscepit pietatis tue clementia omnium delictorum suorum ueniam et gaudia consequi mereantur eterna. Per dominum nostrum.

Dominus uobiscum.

Benedicamus domino.

(Lincoln Cathedral Statutes. Bradshaw and Wordsworth. I, pp. 300–301.)

E

Gift of Books to the Chapter Library

De dono Hugonis Linc. episcopi. Duo magna uolumina sermonum catholicorum doctorum per totum annum. et libellum de uita patrum cum rubeo coopertorio. et psalterium cum magna glosatura. quod G. precentor habet. et preterea Omeliarius in coopertorio ceruluo. qui sic incipit. Erunt signa. et Martilogium cum textu iiil. euangeliorum quod cantor habet.

(*List of Books in the Great Bible.*)

CHAPTER VII

STRENUOUS LIFE AS BISHOP

During the whole of his career as Bishop Hugh never forgot that he was a monk, and still lived strictly and abstemiously, never touching meat of any kind whether he was well or ill, though he did allow himself to eat fish. Nor did he refuse the use of wine, but drank it, though sparingly, both from the point of view of his bodily needs in accordance with the admonition of the Apostle, "Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities" (1 Tim. v. 23), and also that following the example of the same Apostle he might be "all things to all men" (1 Cor. ix. 22), and so able to associate himself in the innocent enjoyment of those who sat at meat with him. He was cheerful and jolly at table, but yet at the same time always serious and restrained. If players or musicians were present at feasts given by himself or elsewhere (a curious sidelight on the hospitalities of a medieval bishop), then he would be very serious, scarcely lifting his eyes from the table, and showing by every word and movement that he was strictly confining himself to his own inner thoughts, however much his senses might be soothed by such refinements. Gerald tells us particularly that he was sumptuous in his housekeeping, that his household was excellently clothed, and that the meals served in his palace were good and lavish. He was wont to say, Gerald remarks, "Eat well, and drink well, and serve God well and devoutly." On the other hand, he would have read at meals the Passions of Martyrs and Lives of the Saints, and on solemn occasions the sermons

of the more famous doctors of the Church. At dinner he had the Bible read, so that with these readings and the lections of the night office he would have read in the course of a year nearly the whole of the Old and New Testaments, with the exception of the Gospels, which were read at other times.

But though Hugh was strict still in the matter of food, he soon found, so great was the physical strain required by his work, that unless he increased the amount of nourishment to which he had been accustomed, he would be quite unable to get through his daily task. Already by his continual adherence to an unvarying and insipid diet he had seriously weakened his powers of digestion, and suffered much and continually from stomach troubles. Yet in spite of all this his energy was extraordinary, and at the dedication of churches, at the conferring of Orders, and in carrying out of other lengthy and fatiguing offices of the Church, his strength and vigour seemed to be greater than that of those who were in attendance on him. Sometimes, we are told, while those who were with him were so tired as to be forced to withdraw and rest awhile, while others took their places, Hugh would seem never to grow weary, but would go on with alacrity from task to task and from labour to labour. So much work had he to do, much of it probably accumulations from the past neglect of the diocese, that he used to rise before daylight, and go on till nightfall, never ceasing in his activities all day long, nor breaking his fast till nightfall. But if he was unsparing of himself he never forgot to consider other people. As an example of his considerateness for others, we are told that if the weather was very hot on the occasion of the dedication of a church, which was a lengthy and fatiguing service, entailing much walking and standing about, he would insist on those who were acting as deacon and subdeacon at the Mass taking a little bread and wine beforehand, lest overcome by heat and weariness and hunger they

should be unable to perform their office with due devotion.* If in this case, as sometimes happened, the clergy concerned were uncomfortable, and doubted whether they ought, if unfasting, to handle chalice and corporal, he would rebuke them as lacking in faith and discernment for not obeying him without hesitation or perceiving the reasonableness of his injunction. In Hugh's days the normal celebration of the Mass was by three ministers, priest, deacon, and subdeacon, and all three were regarded as together celebrating the Sacrament in a sense, and so it was still customary for all three to be fasting. It would appear, from what we are told, that Hugh must have been one of the first to relax the rule of fasting in the case of deacon and subdeacon. There was no question, of course, as to the celebrant, who would always and in all circumstances be strictly fasting.

The zeal and reverence which Hugh showed in the performance of his pontifical duties greatly impressed his contemporaries, and this was especially the case in his administering the Sacrament of Confirmation. The badness of the roads, the difficulties of travelling, the great distances to be covered and the time occupied in doing so, made it impossible for Bishops to visit parishes as regularly for the purpose of confirming as they do at the present day. The episcopal Constitutions of the thirteenth century frequently in this connexion gave instructions to parish priests to ascertain when the Bishop was likely to be in the neighbourhood, and admonish such parents as had children yet unconfirmed to take them and meet the Bishop at some prearranged spot on a high-road. Confirmation was thus frequently administered in the open, by the roadside, on the course of a Bishop's journeys. Adam notes specially that in such cases Hugh always took the trouble to get off his horse and so administer the Sacrament with all reverence. "However tired or ill he might be, however he might

* *M.V.*, p. 140.

be pressed for time, however rough the road or bad the weather, he could not be induced to confer so great a Sacrament as Confirmation while sitting on his horse." * Adam contrasts with Hugh's reverent demeanour the irreverence of which he had himself been a witness in similar circumstances †—a Bishop, much younger than Hugh, with nothing to prevent him from confirming reverently, sitting on his horse and anointing the children as they were lifted up to him; the children frightened and crying, and indeed in danger among the fretting and kicking horses of the Bishop's train; pushed about and slapped by the attendants, and in the midst of it all the Bishop sitting there confirming, calm, unmoved, and indifferent. Hugh, on the other hand, would get down off his horse, and call the children to him gently one by one with those who carried them, and so confirm them. If any of his attendants hindered them in any way he would sternly rebuke them, and if their conduct was very annoying would box their ears. When he had finished confirming, he would bless them all, and if there should happen to be any who were sick present, would pray for them, and so resume his journey, followed by the blessings of all there. Adam adds that to his own knowledge the prayers so offered for the sick were not without avail.

Gerald ‡ tells us how one day when he had finished confirming a number of persons who had assembled together in this way, and had just mounted his horse again to ride on to another appointed spot for the same purpose, a rustic started to run after him and clamoured to be confirmed himself. Hugh bade him go on to the next place arranged, and so be confirmed with the other candidates. The next place was not far off, but the man refused to go, and sitting himself down, lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven,

* *M.V.*, p. 140. † *M.V.*, p. 141.
‡ *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, p. 95.

and solemnly laid on Hugh the responsibility for his remaining unconfirmed. Hugh dropped his reins and considered for a minute or two, then patiently turned back and confirmed him forthwith. When he had confirmed the unreasonable creature, he rebuked him for having put off the receiving of a Sacrament so necessary for his spiritual well-being until he was on the verge of old age, and gave him a good box on the ears for doing so.*

Gerald tells us yet another story of Hugh in connexion with Confirmation, and it illustrates his simple and common-sense methods of dealing with unreasonable people.† A rustic one day, when he was very tired, was very urgent to have the name of his child changed. At first the Bishop thought that he had brought the child to be confirmed, and got off his horse to confirm him. But he was then told that it was simply the name of the child that the father wanted changing. He asked what the name was, and was told "John." "Oh, you thorough blockhead and lunatic," cried the tired Bishop, "what better name could you want for him than 'John,' which means 'the grace of God'?" and he straightway laid

* This is the obvious meaning of Gerald's words, *sed quoniam in senium jam ille vergebat quia sacramentum hoc saluti necessarium tam diu impetrare distulerat faciei ipsius alapam dextra manu fortiter inflixit.* Fr. Thurston corrects Canon Perry, who interprets the incident as I have done, in a somewhat superior way, informing him that the *alapa* is the word used in the Pontifical for the slight buffet that is given according to the Latin use in the administration of Confirmation, and suggests that Hugh gave a harder tap than usual. But this would be an act of irreverence quite impossible to Hugh. Moreover *alapa* is quite a common word, and indeed is used in Adam's account of the irreverent Confirmation that he had witnessed, of the attendants' slaps. Fr. Thurston would hardly suggest that in that case the Bishop's followers administered the Sacrament. The matter is quite simple. Hugh, as we are told on more than one occasion, was in the habit of boxing people's ears when they were trying. The methods of the Middle Ages were not like ours, and it must be admitted that Hugh's treatment of such people was eminently suited to the case. Cf. *M.L.*, ll. 760–4.

† *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, 95.

a penance on the man, that he should eat bread and water only on Fridays and no meat on Wednesdays for a whole year.

Hugh was passionately fond of children, and took great delight in hearing them lisp out little half-words to him. Adam * tells us how he has seen a little child, six months old, smiling up at the Bishop and kicking for joy while he was being anointed with the chrism of Confirmation; for this Sacrament was quite commonly administered in those days to very young children. The child at last got hold of Hugh's finger and put it into his mouth. The good Bishop was as delighted with the child as the child was with the Bishop, so that those who witnessed the scene were moved to remember the words of the Gospel, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." When those present remarked on the extraordinary attraction which Hugh seemed to have for the child he answered with pride that it had been just the same with his little nephew at Avalon. "When I was Prior of Witham," he told them, "I had to go on one occasion to attend a General Chapter at the Grande Chartreuse, and as my road took me past the town of Avalon, in the castle of which my brother William lived, I turned aside to visit his home. There my brother's little child, who was not yet able to talk, was brought to me. He took just the same delight as this child in every movement of mine, so much so that when he was taken from his nurse, and laid on my bed, he was so pleased, and laughed and chuckled in a way you would have thought impossible in a child." This child, of which Adam tells us, was brought to the Bishop in the hall of Newark Castle, and was of peasant birth. Adam says he would have liked to know the future history of these children, but can only speak of Hugh's nephew, who, he says, grew up a virtuous man. Of the future of the other child he could discover nothing, and so could only hope for the best.

* *M.V.*, pp. 143–5.

Hugh was not only fond of children, but often watched over them and helped them when they grew up, and Adam mentions by name two, Benedict of Caen and Robert of Noyon, for whose education the Bishop provided.

Though always and above all things a monk, he had sympathy for those who lived in the world, and this is really surprising in view of the circumstances of his own life. He would, indeed, praise the opportunities which the monastic life offered, when folk, both lay and clerical, complained of their difficulties in life, and yet, as he knew, neither desired nor were able to retire from the world. "It is not monks alone," he would remind them, "nor only hermits or solitaries who will attain to the kingdom of God. When at the last God shall judge each man, He will not find it a matter for condemnation that everyone has not been a hermit or a monk; but each sinful man will be blamed in so far as he has not shown himself a true Christian. For there are three things which are required of every Christian soul, and if one of these be lacking, when he shall be judged the mere name of Christian will not avail him. Indeed, the name alone without the real thing will do him harm, because untrueness is all the more to be reprehended in one who makes profession of the truth. It is required then, if the virtue and reality of this blessed name of Christian is to tell, that love be cherished unceasingly in the heart, truth on the lips, and purity in the body, of all who are not mere pretended Christians." *

Hugh's attitude towards the married life was equally moderate and sympathetic. He would teach that married folk, so long as they kept within the bounds of temperance, were not by any means to be regarded as not possessing the virtue of chastity from the mere fact of their being married. Married folk, he declared, who lived temperately, would attain to

* *M.V.*, p. 196.

heavenly beatitude just as much as those who were monks or virgins.

His attitude towards women * and his relations with them were natural and free from self-consciousness, very different from the attitude of St. Hugh of Grenoble, with whose life and fame and character he had been so familiar in his early days, and who would not look at a woman. He would have devout and religiously minded women sitting at his table by his side, and would lay his hands on their heads and bless them, and even, we are told, would chastely embrace them on their departure. When speaking to women and exhorting them to the more fervent love of God, he would remind them of the great honour God had done their sex. "Surely Almighty God should be greatly loved by women, inasmuch as He did not disdain to be born of a woman. A wonderful honour and dignity, indeed, did He hereby confer on them, for while it was not granted to man to be called the Father of God, yet this great distinction was bestowed upon a woman, that she should be the Mother of God."

Another phase of Hugh's character was shown by his love of officiating at the burial of the dead.† It may be that this love for the dead arose from the customs of the Chartreuse, where there were careful regulations laid down and loving reverence observed at the burial of a departed brother, and where the day of a funeral was always one in which the brethren met together, that so they might find some measure of consolation in their loss. Probably it was but the outcome of his immense love and pitifulness for his fellow-men. Adam gives us some striking words of Hugh, in which he pictures the unutterable love and tenderness of God towards the souls of men. "Ye see, ye that are My priests and the chamberlains of My earthly mansions, ye see this creature of Mine whom I have always loved, and for whom I did not

* *M.V.*, p. 197. † *M.V.*, pp. 227 ff.

spare My only-begotten Son, but made Him to be partaker of his mortality and of death. Ye see him, I say, become a burden to those who once were his friends and near ones, and even, as it were, roughly driven forth and cast out from among them. Ah well; run ye and meet him as he flees to Me for refuge; take up the figure of My Son, Who was crucified for him, and your censers and candles; toll the bells of My church in solemn peal; make ye their voices to be heard more clearly and distinctly than when they resound in festal song; fling wide the doors of My church, and open the inmost recesses thereof; lay the remains of your brother or sister not far from the altar which holds the Body of My Son. Cover with a precious pall his bier, as of one now entering on his triumph, encompass him with lights and torches, and surround him as he lies there with the throng of mourners who attend him. Offer again for the dead the Sacrifice of My Son, and set out the rich banquet; by which the panting soul, as yet unrested and weary of the strivings of the mortality in which it was implanted, may revive again to vigour; and the flesh in the meantime emptied of its true indweller, and now to be nursed in the lap of its mother earth, may be refreshed by a most welcome benediction; so that at the last day it may be most joyfully reunited to its former fellow and speedily flower again, and be clothed in felicity with an everlasting greenness." * Certainly Hugh loved not God only, but also his fellow-men.

He was never more serious or solemn than when he was officiating at a Burial, nor would he miss any opportunity, if he could help it, of so officiating. Indeed, he issued a general inhibition to all parish priests against their performing the funeral rites themselves if he should happen to be near at hand, except by his special permission; and Gerald tells us that his almoner was ordered to inform him on his journeys if he should hear of any unburied dead, under

* *M.V.*, p. 226.

the penalty, if he failed to do so, of a day on bread and water.* He performed the Burial Office always with the greatest reverence, supplying, in the case of the poor, at his own cost candles or any other things that might be lacking. If, when on a journey, he saw a funeral procession entering a churchyard, he would dismount from his horse, and go in and pray, and if he had not with him a book written in large enough characters to enable him to read the Office himself without stumbling (for in his later days his eyes began to fail him), he would at least join with the priest in the Psalms and make the Responses. If he had a suitable book with him, he would read the service himself.

Gerald† tells us how on one occasion he came back to Lincoln very tired after a long day's journey, and then buried a dead man in one part of the city, and immediately afterwards another of whom he had heard in a different part. Sometimes in a town funeral would follow funeral, and he would bury one body after another, quite regardless of time, and never minding for a moment if he should be late for an engagement, a meal, for example, to which he had asked some great man, or to which some great man had invited him. He treated all alike in this way, and made no difference for kings. Both Henry and Richard were each on different occasions kept waiting for a meal till Hugh should have finished burying his dead. On one of these occasions he was urged by some court officials to hurry, and answered calmly, "There is no need to wait for me. Let the King eat in the Lord's name"; and turning to his followers remarked, "It is better that an earthly king should dine without us, than that our humility should leave undone the command of the Eternal King." ‡

Once when he was travelling near Argentan in Normandy he came to a grave very recently dug by the

* *Girald. Camb.*, vii. p. 99. † vii, p. 98.
‡ *M.V.*, p. 229.

road-side. He asked of a ploughman whose it was, and was told that it was for a poor beggar who had died in a house near by, neglected by the parish priest because of his poverty, and who was to be buried by the road-side, because none could be found who would put themselves to the trouble of carrying the body to the churchyard. Much grieved, Hugh at once dismounted and himself read the Burial Service over him. He afterwards reported the parish priest to his Bishop for neglecting his duties.

During the building of the cathedral, on St. Stephen's Day when Hugh had just finished celebrating Mass, one of the masons engaged on the work came to him and begged him to come to give the last absolution to his brother, who had died the night before. On hearing that the body was not yet buried, but lay in a church some little distance away, Hugh at once set out with his chaplain, a monk, and two boys, and buried the body with all becoming reverence. That same day, Adam recalls, he buried five other dead folk. It happened that on that particular day he had been invited to a feast with a large number of clergy by the Archdeacon of Bedford, and his host and the assembled guests were kept waiting a long time in consequence. When he was reminded of the engagement, he answered with some sharpness, "And why do you neglect to give heed to the voice of the Lord, Who says with His own sacred lips, 'My meat is to do the will of My Father which is in heaven'?" *

During the general Colloquy of the Peers in London in 1198, one of the prelates present, probably the Abbot of Pershore, died, and was buried in Bermondsey. Hugh alone of all the Bishops attending this meeting, though he had known but little of the defunct Abbot, was present at the funeral, reading the Burial Office himself. The corpse was, we are told, in a horribly offensive condition, so much so as to be most distressing to those near, but Hugh seemed

* *M.V.*, p. 231.

utterly unconscious of it, and performed his duties unmoved, with his accustomed reverence and solemnity.

Hugh's love and charity towards the sick and wretched were boundless, and on none did he bestow them more lovingly than on those unfortunates who suffered from the dread disease of leprosy. One wonders whether his great love for lepers was in any way due to the memory of his mother, of whom he had known so little. The *Metrical Life* speaks of her as a gentle and devout lady much given to works of charity, and expressly mentions lepers as among those to whom she was wont to minister:

> Anna * lavare pedes ipsis assueta leprosis,
> Spes miseris, oculus caecis, solamen egenis.

Leprosy was at this time very common throughout England, and there are to this day many remains of leper-houses.† Hugh delighted to tend to these poor wretches with his own hands, washing their feet, kissing them, and bestowing on them food and alms with great generosity. Wherever he went on his journeyings, he always sought out any lepers who were in the neighbourhood. On some of the Bishop's own farms there were leper-houses which had been established and endowed by his predecessors, and in which sufferers were cared for. In these Hugh took the greatest personal interest, doing all he could to add to the comfort and well-being of the inmates. From time to time he would go himself with a few devoted attendants and take up his abode in one of these hospitals, living among these poor people, and cheering and comforting them by his presence. Before speaking to them he would always kiss the men among

* ll. 53, 54.

† Remigius founded a Hospital of the Holy Innocents for lepers at Lincoln. There was also another lazar-house in the city, St. Leonard's; and it is possible that the Hospital of St. Giles served the same purpose.

them, and especially those who were the worst afflicted. He would preach to them in gentle and consoling words, bidding them look forward to the blessedness of the life that is to come. Adam tells us honestly of the great horror that used to overcome him when he saw Hugh kissing lepers, but Hugh used to reproach his attendants for their attitude in this respect, reminding them of the example of our Saviour's gentleness and loving-kindness towards the wretched. Hugh was always a great giver of alms, and Adam says that at least a third part of his income was expended on lepers. In connexion with Hugh's relation with lepers Gerald tells us how once William de Montibus, the famous Chancellor who had been appointed to his office by Hugh himself, saw the Bishop kiss a leper at Newark, and remarked to him, "Martin healed a leper with a kiss"; and Hugh, understanding the meaning of the remark, replied, "Martin by kissing the leper healed him in body; but the leper by this kiss has given healing to my soul." *

Hugh's relations with his Chapter were always happy and peaceful, a condition of things that did not always obtain at Lincoln. Hugh himself bears witness to the kindness and forbearance of his Canons towards him. "This peaceful spirit, and the entire absence of dissension between us, is not exhibited by my lords (for thus he always spoke of his canons) because they find me easy and meek. For indeed I am sharper and more biting than pepper, and not infrequently when I preside over my Chapter I flare up over quite little matters. But they know that they have to endure the Bishop whom they have had given them, and so make a virtue of necessity and give way to me. I thank them much. Never by a single word have they set themselves in opposition to me from the day that I first came to live among them. And when we break up at the end of a Chapter meeting, not a single one of them ever has cause to doubt my love for him,

* *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, p. 107.

nor do I think that every one of them does not love me."* Incidentally we gather from this that Hugh took his full share in the governing of the cathedral, holding his Canonry as all Bishops of Lincoln are supposed to do, and taking his due part in the business of the Chapter. He of course as Prima Dignitas would preside at all meetings of the Chapter at which he was present, the Dean, who is but Secunda Dignitas, only presiding in the Bishop's absence. In later times the Bishops gradually neglected more and more their duties towards the cathedral, with the result that the Bishop and Dean came to be regarded as two different, and often rival, powers.

Hugh's relations with his own household were close and affectionate, and were those rather of a father than a master. This is illustrated by the story of the young man, named Martin, who had charge of Hugh's episcopal gear.† This office, inasmuch as the holder of it had to wear a surplice and take his place among the clergy, constituted Martin a clerk, and therefore necessitated his being tonsured. Now, Martin was a young man and apparently rather vain of his locks, and with one excuse and another he put off being tonsured. At the end of three days Hugh noticed that the young man was still untonsured, went up to him quietly after Mass, and running his fingers through his hair, remarked, "Well, well, since you do not seem to have found a barber to tonsure you as you were bidden, I will tonsure you myself." And taking a pair of scissors he tonsured him with his own hands. At the touch of the good Bishop's fingers, we are told, Martin was smitten with compunction, and seemed to feel all his attractions to the world flow out of him, and casting himself on his knees he told Hugh all that he felt, and begged him to enable him to enter the religious life. The Bishop listened, but made no reply. Martin, however, persisted in his resolve, and seeking out those who had influence with Hugh, asked

* *M.V.*, p. 136. † *M.V.*, p. 152.

their assistance towards the attainment of his object. Eventually, when he perceived that the young man's purpose was sincere, Hugh procured his admission to the Priory of St. Neots, a priory dependent on the Abbey of Bec, where Martin became a good and admirable monk. He was ultimately ordained deacon, and finally was transferred to the mother-house of Bec, where he fully maintained his excellent reputation.

We have seen how, when yet a monk at the Chartreuse and, later, at Witham, Hugh had shown a great love of birds. Here at Lincoln this trait of his character comes out in his relations with the famous swan which is always associated with him. Adam's account is derived from that of Gerald, who doubtless during the time of his residence at Lincoln had himself seen the bird. This is what he tells us about it. "On the day, or very near to it, on which Hugh was first received at Lincoln as Bishop, a strange swan which had never been seen there before, flew to his manor of Stow, which is about eight miles from the city of Lincoln, and which is pleasantly surrounded by woods and ponds. This bird within a few days fought with, and by reason of its greater size slew, the many other swans which it found there, with the exception of one female, which it left alive for the sake of companionship, and not apparently for the sake of offspring. For it was almost as much stronger than a swan as a swan is larger than a goose. But it was very like a swan in all respects, particularly in the whiteness of its colour, excepting that it had not the black swelling at the base of its beak that swans have, but instead the base of the beak was smooth and with the head and the upper part of the neck was of a yellow colour. Now this royal bird, as noticeable for its character as for its size, was on Hugh's first coming to the manor brought of its own free will, without causing the servants any trouble, to the Bishop in his room for his admiration. At once it took bread from his hand and ate it, and remained

STATUE OF ST. HUGH ON THE TOWER OF ST. MARY'S, OXFORD (c. 1330).

(REPRODUCED FROM *THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN* BY PERMISSION OF THE DELEGATES OF THE CLARENDON PRESS).

(facing p. 80).

close to him in the most friendly manner, seeming to have shed entirely its wild nature. It did not shrink from his touch, and seemed in no way disturbed by the comings and the bustle of the many people about the Bishop. It would even sometimes, when being fed by the Bishop, thrust its head and long neck right up the long and broad sleeves into his bosom, making a great fuss with his master and caressing him, almost as if it wanted to whisper to him. Moreover, the servants and keepers of the manor declared that three or four days before the coming of the Bishop to Stow whenever he had been away for some time, it would move about more quickly than usual, flying above the surface of the stream and beating the water with its wings, making a great clamour; and even sometimes would leave the water and stalk with long strides either to the hall or to the outer gate, as if going to meet his master on his arrival. And it may well be believed that when preparations were being made, and there was a great coming and going of servants, since birds are of a subtle and ethereal nature, so that many prognostications of the future are made by observing their doings, this bird, perhaps in virtue of this same natural capacity, was able to understand the meaning of these activities. But the most remarkable thing is that he showed neither friendliness nor the slightest tractability to anyone but the Bishop alone. More than that, it would stand by its master and try to prevent anyone else approaching him, as I have often seen with wonder, clamouring and threatening with beak and wings, and loudly shrilling out its natural notes, as if to show that it belonged to the Bishop, and as if claiming that it had been sent to him and him alone for a sign. Nor is it without mysterious significance, that a white bird, the messenger by its song of coming death, should be sent, as it were credited with a divine message, to a man who was without reproach, devout, and pure of life, one who had no fear of death's

threats, inasmuch as the saints regard death with longing, and life with patience. For as that bird, so strikingly white, teaches that the crisis of death is not a subject for bewailing, and when the moment of death is close at hand, as if making a virtue of necessity, shows its contempt for its last end by its song; so men who are clad in the white robe of virtue and merit, depart joyfully from the toils of this world, and thirsting for God alone Who is the living fountain, desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ."

So Adam quotes from Gerald.* He goes on to add details from his own experience. The bird would not allow anyone to approach Hugh when he was meditating or asleep, and often attacked Adam himself. When Hugh was away from Stow it would betake itself to its pond, only coming out for food. On the occasion of Hugh's last visit to Stow it seemed to be miserable. It would not come to meet the Bishop, and was with great difficulty brought to Hugh on his command, and seemed the very image of wretchedness and illness. When the Bishop died soon afterwards, this attitude of his swan was regarded as its last sad farewell to his master. The bird lived on at Stow, Adam says, for a long time after Hugh's death.

* *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, 109; *M.V.*, pp. 115 ff. The bird seems to have been a hooper, or wild swan.

CHAPTER VIII

JUDICIAL DUTIES

HUGH used to complain that so many duties were laid on him as Bishop which were not of a really spiritual character, that he had not time left him to carry out his spiritual obligations properly. There was not only the general government of his see incumbent on him, but there was also an infinite number of other matters that arose out of this. The ultimate responsibility of the proper care and supervision of his episcopal estates rested on him. As the holder of great estates he had his duties to the King. He had constantly to interfere on behalf of the oppressed against the oppressor. He had many judicial duties to perform, and in his day a vast number of matters came within the cognisance of the spiritual courts which in these days would be dealt with in secular courts. And in addition to his many ordinary judicial duties, he was frequently appointed to act as Judex Delegatus on the Pope's behalf. The Judge Delegate was a judge appointed by the Pope to hear cases in England on his behalf where an appeal had been made to Rome, and by this means the parties concerned were saved the great expense and trouble of appearing in person at Rome. It was no wonder that Hugh should complain that he had not enough time in which to do his proper spiritual work, when so many and onerous duties were laid upon him.

The management of his estates Hugh left to his stewards. But at first he showed a tendency to decide matters connected with the administration of his lands himself, and especially in such cases as seemed to entail hardships, without reference to those to whom

was entrusted the management of his estates. Thus on one occasion he remitted the heriot fine to a poor widow.* The heriot was the payment by the heirs of a tenant deceased of the best beast belonging to him to his lord. A similar payment of the mortuary, that is of the second best beast to the parson, was also customary in many parishes. These fines were often very hard in the case of poor people. On the vigorous expostulation of his seneschal in this particular case, who declared that no land could be held on such lines, he got off his horse and, scraping up a handful of earth, answered, "Now I hold my land, and none the less restore the ox to the woman." In the same way we read of him restoring a fine of 100*s.* due from a knight's son on his father's death.† But ultimately he committed the whole management of such matters to his stewards, carefully appointing men whom he could trust implicitly.

The Church was always the great champion of the oppressed against the oppressor. The poor man could not avail himself of the protection of the law against the great man, and here it was that the Church stepped in with its weapon of excommunication. Hugh was always ready to champion the oppressed and gained a great reputation in this respect. In particular he had the courage to fight the iniquitous tyranny that arose out of the forest laws. "Among other pestiferous scandals," says Adam, "the chiefest in England lies in the tyranny of the foresters, a plague which depopulates the country-side. With these men violence counts for law, plundering is regarded as a praiseworthy action, justice is a thing to be hated, and innocence constitutes guilt. No position, no rank, no one, in a word, under the King himself, escapes from this cruel evil without injury." ‡ All contemporary writers agree on the cruelty of the forest laws and the brutality of their administration.

* *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, p. 96. † *Id.*, p. 97.
‡ *M.V.*, p. 125.

Hugh had apparently had dealings with the foresters as Prior of Witham, though the Witham charter expressly exempts the Priory from all interference by foresters. He found a derivation of their name which afforded him great satisfaction; "rightly and very justly are these men called foresters, for they will stand outside the Kingdom of Heaven." * His derivation of *forestarius*, from *foris stare*, "to stand without," may not satisfy the philologist of to-day, but it well represents the estimation in which the forester was held by all classes. Walter Map tells us the origin of his pun. Hugh was visiting the King on a certain occasion, and found a group of men standing in the ante-chamber waiting for admission to the King's presence and fuming at the delay. "And who are you?" asked the Bishop. "We are foresters," was the answer. "Then let the foresters stand outside," said Hugh. The King heard the conversation from within, and roared with laughter at the Bishop's ready wit, and the discomfiture of the foresters, but Hugh turned on him at once, and reminded him, "This parable touches you too, for when the poor whom these men torment enter Paradise, you will stand outside with your foresters." "But," as Walter sagely remarks, "though the joke appealed to the King, yet just as Solomon did not abolish the high places, so Henry did not abolish the foresters."†

Hugh had considerable trouble with these men, and on one occasion of outrage, which Adam does not specify, dealt summarily with the matter by taking the bold steps of excommunicating the chief forester, Galfridus by name.‡ This he did without gaining the King's permission beforehand, as was required by the law when a chief officer of the King was concerned, and Henry was furious when he heard of Hugh's action.

* *M.V.*, p. 176.
† *De nugis cur.* (Cam. Soc.), p. 7.
‡ *M.V.*, p. 126.

Now, it happened that at this very time one of the Prebends of Lincoln fell vacant, and on this becoming known, some of the courtiers asked the King to demand it of Hugh for one of his chaplains. This action on the part of the courtiers was taken out of pure kindliness to Hugh, and was designed as offering him a chance of mitigating Henry's wrath against him in the matter of his chief forester, by falling in with his wishes in this other matter. The King did as was suggested to him, as he was very desirous of testing Hugh's courage and firmness of purpose. At this time Henry was at Woodstock and Hugh was at Dorchester, the old seat of his bishopric, some thirteen miles away.

Hugh's answer to the messengers who were the bearers of this request was immediate and unhesitating. "The benefices of the Church should be bestowed not on courtiers but on ecclesiastics; those who hold them should, so the Scriptures teach us, serve the altar, not the palace nor the treasury nor the exchequer. The King has the means of rewarding those who attend to his affairs; he has the means of recompensing the labours of those that serve him with temporal payments for the temporal services rendered. He must permit those who are called to serve the King of Kings to enjoy the provision made for their requirements, and must not allow them to be deprived of their due sustenance." When this answer was brought back to the King it did not tend to lessen his anger, nor were there wanting some of those about him to fan his wrath, and point out to him how Hugh was not only apparently ungrateful for all the honour that Henry had shown him, but seemed anxious to repay him with actual insult.

Hugh at once received a summons to present himself to the King, and was met with a curious reception on his appearance. When Henry heard that Hugh was close to Woodstock, he and the nobles in attendance on him rode off to a neighbouring wood, and seated

themselves in a circle, the King giving strict orders that when Hugh arrived no one was to rise or to take the slightest notice of his presence. Hugh duly appeared on the scene, and made his reverence to the King and the nobles. No one looked up, and no one seemed to be aware of his presence. Hugh gazed on the company for a minute or two, and then walking up to the noble who sat next to Henry, took him by the shoulders and gently moved him aside, sitting himself down in his room, next to the King. Still a deep silence reigned, till at last the King asked for a needle and thread and began to sew a rag round a damaged finger of his left hand, no one in the meantime saying a word, or taking the slightest notice of Hugh.

The good Bishop saw and understood the meaning of it all, and as he sat there watching the King spoke out a thought that came into his mind, "How you take after your kinsmen of Falaise!" The King tried to restrain himself but could not, and at last lay back on the ground shouting with laughter. The courtiers, who at first were horrified and utterly taken aback at Hugh's boldness, at last joined in the royal merriment. Of course it was not safe to understand the meaning of the allusion, and the King graciously condescended to explain it to them. "Don't you perceive the reproach which this barbarian has levelled at us? I will explain what he means. As a matter of fact the mother of our great-grandfather, William the conqueror of this land, came of a somewhat lowly stock, and was born in the famous Norman town now called Falaise. This city is very renowned for its tanning industry, and when this mocker saw me sewing up my finger, he at once taunted me with my likeness to and relationship with these folk."

The Bishop had spoken out aloud and innocently enough the thoughts that had occurred to him as he watched the King plying his needle, but any other than he might have fared very differently. The subject was hardly a safe one on which to make jests in the

presence of the Norman Kings. When in William the Conqueror's time the town of Falaise, adding insult to the sin of rebellion, had hung untanned skins over the town walls when William was besieging it, in mocking allusion to his mother's origin, the citizens had cause to regret their ill-timed pleasantry, for when he at length took the town, William "taught" the men of Falaise.

However, on this occasion the joke cleared the air, and Henry at once turned to his grievance. "Come now, good man" (for so he always called the Bishop), "what were you thinking of, to lay our forester under an excommunication without previous reference to us? and to treat our little request for the prebend with such contempt, that you neither took the trouble to come to explain to us the reasons for your refusal, nor to send back a conciliatory answer by our messengers?" The Bishop answered, "I know that you laboured zealously to make me a Bishop, and so, in order to free your soul from the responsibility in which it would be involved were I to neglect to perform what is obviously my duty in a matter in which the well-being of the Church committed to me is concerned, it was incumbent on me to restrain by a sentence of excommunication one who was an oppressor of that same Church; and as for him who desired to extort from me a prebend in that Church, for which he was quite unfitted, to take no notice of him whatever. It did not seem necessary, nor indeed fitting, for me to seek an audience with your Excellency on either matter, for you possess sufficient discernment to perceive when the right course has been taken in anything; and anyhow, let your wishes in these matters be satisfied now, by signifying your approval and acceptance of what you know quite well has been done rightly." Hugh's bold and unhesitating justification of his actions turned aside the King's anger, and he now gave his approval to what had been done.

Of course Hugh was technically in the wrong so

far as the forester was concerned, for the law quite clearly required that no officer of the Crown should be subjected to an excommunication without the consent of the Crown being previously procured. At any rate, the King's approval was procured now, and the forester had to submit to the penance laid on him, which involved a public scourging. He was then absolved and blessed by Hugh in person; and it is noteworthy that, far from nursing rancorous feelings against him, he became for the rest of his life the Bishop's faithful and devoted friend.

On another occasion on which a forester was excommunicated by Hugh it was regarded as a proof of his holiness that within a few days of his excommunication the wretched man was brutally murdered by some people whom he had injured.

The firm attitude that Hugh took up on the matter of the prebend saved him, Adam tells us, from all future importunity at the hands of court officials in such cases, and Lincoln from the consequent ill effects from which all churches suffered in which such men held office.* Indeed, his firmness even increased the respect in which he was held by those about the King's court, so much so that Hugh sometimes admitted to his friends that he would gladly have bestowed benefices on some of the King's clerks if only they had not been involved in the King's business.

Many matters came within the scope of Hugh's work and were ultimately committed to him for settlement, some of which would not be regarded from the modern point of view as coming within the ecclesiastical sphere at all. Such an one, for example, was the case of William de Hardredeshill.† A Lincolnshire knight, Thomas, son of William de Salebi, and his wife Agnes had no children. In default of issue Thomas's estate would naturally fall to his brother William de Hardredeshill, an estimable man from every point of view. Agnes, the wife of Thomas, how-

* *M.V.*, p. 131. † *M.V.*, pp. 170 ff.

ever, fearing that on the death of her husband, who was an elderly man, she would be left dependent on the benevolence of her brother-in-law, conceived the idea of palming off on her husband and relatives a supposititious child as her own. William, who for some reason had his suspicions of the true facts of the case, took counsel of his friends as to what course he should pursue, and in the meantime the child, a girl, Gracia by name, was produced.

Thereupon, in the year 1194, William took the matter up to the King's court at Westminster, but on the Bishop of Lincoln claiming jurisdiction as in a matter belonging to the Court Christian, the case was transmitted to him. William therefore laid his complaint before Hugh, who sent for Sir Thomas and bade him tell the truth. The Knight, either under the influence of his wife (as Hugh seems to have thought), or perhaps more probably really believing that the child was his own, refused to admit the truth of his brother's allegations. On the following day, a Sunday, Hugh, who had apparently given judgment in William's favour, declared publicly the enormity of such a crime as this, giving details of the whole affair, and laid under a solemn excommunication all who might be privy to the plot. On the very next night Sir Thomas died, but his widow Agnes persisted in her declaration that the child was genuine, and Sir William was kept out of his inheritance. The child Gracia became a ward of the King's, by whom, when she was four years old, she was betrothed to Adam Neville, brother of Hugh Neville the chief forester. When Hugh heard of this betrothal, he forbade the celebration of the marriage, but the opportunity was taken of the Bishop's absence abroad with the King for the marriage to be solemnized *in facie ecclesiae*. On his return Hugh at once suspended the priest who had performed the marriage ceremony, and excommunicated the chief actors.

Then at last the maid of Agnes, overcome by the

terrors of conscience, came to the Bishop and admitted her share in the fraud, and Agnes herself at last confessed the whole truth, Adam himself being present at the confession of the latter. Hugh at once reported the circumstance to Hubert Walter Archbishop of Canterbury and King's Justiciar, but Adam Neville persisted in his wife's right to her estates, and refused to make restitution. So the case dragged on after Hugh was dead, so difficult was it to obtain justice against those who possessed power and influence in those days.

The subsequent history is interesting. Adam Neville died in 1200, while engaged in prosecuting his case in London. The little widow was at once given by King John to another husband, Norman de Caritate, or de Camera, who paid the King 200 marks for the marriage. On Norman's death in 1205 she was given to yet a third husband, Brien de Insula, who gave 300 marks for her. All these husbands seem to have held her estates without opposition. Finally Gracia herself died without children, and the estate came back to William de Hardredeshill, son of the original claimant.

Another example of Hugh's tenacity in the cause of justice is to be seen in the case of the deacon Richard de Waure, who delated Sir Reginald de Argentun to the King for treason.* Both the accuser and the accused belonged to the diocese of Lincoln, and Hugh, who had at least doubts of the honesty of the deacon, forbade him to proceed in a secular court against Sir Reginald. This prohibition was doubtless due to the fact that as the penalty for treason was death, the pursuing of the charge would involve Richard in a cause of blood, and such intervention was forbidden to a clerk by the canon law. Richard, however, was encouraged by the King, and the Justiciar Archbishop Hubert bade Hugh to refrain from interfering or placing any obstacle in the deacon's way

* *M.V.*, p. 179.

in a matter that affected the King's honour. But Hugh remained firm, distinguishing between Hubert the Justiciar and Hubert the Archbishop and Papal Legate, and defying the former, suspended Richard from his functions. Hubert, as Archbishop, quashed the Bishop's suspension of Richard, and thereupon Hugh excommunicated the deacon. The Archbishop released Richard from his excommunication, and wrote to Hugh notifying him of the fact, and received the reply that as often as the Archbishop should see fit to release Richard, so often would he excommunicate him again, and a hundred times if necessary. While the matter was in this unsatisfactory condition, the difficulty was solved by the murder of Richard by his servant. This man, Richard de Waure, had not so long before sought to enter a religious house, but on the death of his brother without children had changed his mind, desiring to enjoy his inheritance. So Adam moralizes on his unhappy death, and sees in it a fitting end for one who, having set his hand to the plough, looked back. But perhaps it is not to be wondered at that Hubert Walter did not love Hugh.

Another case in which Hugh was called upon to intervene was that of the adulterous wife of Oxford, who had deserted her husband, and committed bigamy.* Hugh first of all summoned the husband and the woman before him, and strove to effect a reconciliation. But the woman refused, with great vehemence, to be reconciled, and there before the altar, in Hugh's presence, showed her contempt for her husband by spitting in his face. As she remained obdurate and altogether unmoved by his admonitions, Hugh excommunicated her forthwith, and the dread effect of his anathema was thought to be seen in her death, which took place a few days later.

Hoveden gives us an example of Hugh's sternness in the case of such sinners, even after they had departed this life, in the attitude which he took up towards

* *M.V.*, p. 181.

the memory of the Fair Rosamond.* We read how he came one day to the Abbey of the Nuns of Godstow between Oxford and Woodstock, and entering the church to pray, noticed a fine tomb in the middle of the choir before the altar, hung about with silken curtains, and surrounded with lamps and candles. He asked whose the tomb was, and was told it was the tomb of Rosamond, who in former days had been "the friend" of Henry King of England and the Empress Matilda's son, who out of love for her had shown much favour to the Church of Godstow in which she was buried. Hugh answered sternly, "Take her hence, for she was a harlot, and bury her outside the church with those that lie there, lest the religion of Christ be made cheap, and in order that other women may be warned by her example to beware of unlawful and adulterous connexions."

Hugh's reputation as a just judge travelled beyond the boundaries of his own vast diocese, and we find one William, a clerk of the diocese of York, appealing to Hugh.† The unfortunate clerk in question was unjustly excluded from his benefice by the Lord of the Manor, who had intruded his own brother into the church and maintained him there by force. The oppressing Knight had the support not only of the neighbouring magnates, but also of the courts both ecclesiastical and temporal. The clerk had prosecuted his case at great cost to himself in the Roman Curia, and finally the matter was referred to Hugh for settlement. It would seem that this was a case in which Hugh acted as Judge Delegate for the Pope, for we are told that he incontinently excommunicated, "supported by apostolic authority," the wrongdoers, and that his excommunication was at once followed by fearful punishments, which fell upon all those involved in his sentence, while the dispossessed clerk was triumphantly restored to his benefice.

* *R. Hoveden* (R.S.), ii, pp. 167, 168.
† *M.V.*, p. 182.

Questions and disputes as to rights of patronage fell, as matters affecting property, within the scope of the King's courts, not the ecclesiastical, and no appeal from the verdict of a secular court, which in this case had been given against the clerk, could be made to any ecclesiastical court, for the King's officials would certainly have forbidden the hearing of such an appeal in any English spiritual court. It is obvious therefore, both from the facts of the case and from the reference to the Roman Curia, that Hugh was here acting, though it is not expressly so stated, as a Judge Delegate of the Pope.

Curiously enough, Hugh was concerned as Judge Delegate in settling disputes in which both the Archbishops were involved. Archbishop Hubert, who had succeeded the good but ineffective Baldwin on his death from a broken heart at the siege of Acre in 1192, where he had witnessed the grievous conduct of the soldiers of the Cross, was engaged in a bitter dispute with the Prior and monks of Christ Church. The matter in dispute was of the same nature as had caused trouble between Baldwin and the monks. Hubert proposed to found, this time at Lambeth, a collegiate church under a secular Dean and Canons.* His scheme was vigorously opposed by the monks of Christ Church, and after various messengers of both parties had succumbed to the unhealthy climate of Rome, the case was delegated by the Pope to certain English prelates, to be settled in England. The Judges Delegate were Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, Eustace Bishop of Ely, and Samson Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's. The case was ultimately settled against the Archbishop in 1200 when Hugh lay on his deathbed, Roger de Rolleston Dean of Lincoln acting in his stead.

Hugh's duties as Judge Delegate in connexion with the disputes between Geoffrey Archbishop of York and Hugh Puiset Bishop of Durham, and the fierce conflict which raged between the Archbishop and his

* *M.V.*, p. 135.

Chapter at York, must have been very burdensome and trying. Geoffrey, the natural son of King Henry, was in many ways, in spite of his many failings, the best of his children, and the only one who seemed to have any affection for his father. He was with Henry at the time of his death. For many years he had been Bishop-elect of Lincoln, enjoying the temporalities of the see, but remaining unconsecrated. In 1181 he resigned his election to the see of Lincoln, and was made by his father Chancellor of the Realm. In 1189 he was appointed to the Archbishopric of York, and eventually consecrated in 1191 at Tours by Henry Bishop of Bayeux and others.

He had promised his brother Richard that he would not return to England for three years, but his troubles with his Chapter at York had already begun, and in spite of his promise to the King he returned. The Chancellor, William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, forbade him to land, and arrested him when he did so in defiance of the prohibition, but was forced to release him on the demand of Prince John. Very soon after this the Chancellor was stripped of his offices, and expelled from England. Geoffrey proceeded then to quarrel with Hugh de Puiset, the unscrupulous and worldly Bishop of Durham, who claimed to be free from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop. On Geoffrey's writing to him to rebuke him for his arrogance, and to summon him to York to take his oath of canonical obedience, the Bishop refused to come, and appealed to Rome against his Metropolitan. Thereupon Geoffrey, who inherited the fiery and energetic temper of his father, promptly excommunicated his insubordinate suffragan, and even went so far as to excommunicate his own brother John also for eating with the excommunicated prelate. As a result of the appeal to Rome, the Pope, Celestine III, declared Geoffrey's excommunication of the Bishop of Durham null and void, and appointed Hugh of Lincoln, Gilbert of Rochester, and Benedict Abbot of

Peterborough as Judges Delegate to hear and settle the controversy. Geoffrey seems to have carried things to extreme lengths, even breaking chalices and altars in places where Puiset had celebrated Mass in despite of the Archbishop's sentence. The case was heard by the Judges at Northampton in 1192.

In 1194 Geoffrey had more trouble, this time with his Chapter, excommunicating Henry Marshall the Dean, the Chancellor, and two other Canons. Apparently the cathedral had been shockingly neglected, and left without sufficient clergy to maintain the services properly, for Geoffrey had found the church almost derelict, and appointed certain clerks to fill the void. The clergy concerned appealed to the King, who bade Geoffrey restore them, and this he did on their making submission and receiving absolution, with the exception of the Dean, who refused to submit and appealed to the Pope. In this case the Dean was ill-advised to appeal, for the Pope refused to recognize him as Dean, and appointed another, one Simon of Apulia, to the Deanery. But this did not settle the question, for the Canons proceeded to bring serious charges, among them tyranny and simony, against Geoffrey. The Pope again appointed Judges Delegate, and ultimately Geoffrey was summoned to Rome, and on his failing to appear was suspended.

In 1195 the Judges Delegate, Hugh of Lincoln, Willemer Archdeacon of Northampton, and Hugh Prior of Pontefract, went to York to inquire into the whole question. Many serious charges were brought against the Archbishop, and a day was again fixed for his appearance at Rome. Once more he did not appear, and was suspended, but none the less forbade the new Dean to act as dean. In the same year the suffragan, John of Withern, came to York to consecrate chrism in Holy Week, but was refused admission into the cathedral by the Dean and Chapter. The Canons then appealed to Hugh of Lincoln for chrism, but were refused it, on the prohibition of Peter Arch-

deacon of Lincoln, Geoffrey's brother. At this time Geoffrey was reconciled to his brother Richard, but being unable to restrain his tongue, soon fell out with him again, and so the case went dragging on.

In November 1195 the Canons of York importuned Hugh to declare sentence of interdict and suspension against the Archbishop, but there must have been something to be said for Geoffrey, for Hugh refused, giving the punning answer that he would be hanged if he suspended the Archbishop ("quod mallet suspendi quam illum archiepiscopum suspendere"). At the end of that year Pope Celestine, whose patience had come to an end, wrote to Hugh recapitulating the case, bidding him to declare Geoffrey suspended, and proceed with the inquiry.

In 1199 a solemn agreement was entered into between the Archbishop and the Canons to submit their differences to the arbitration of Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, Roger Dean of Lincoln, and one Master Columba, undertaking to abide by their decision. This time the arrangement was interrupted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Justiciar, who, on the petition of the Canons of York, persuaded the King to forbid Geoffrey, who was with the King in Normandy, to return home until the King returned. Geoffrey at last made peace with all his enemies in 1200, but Hugh was then no longer one of the judges.

This case of Geoffrey of York gives some idea of the immensely tiresome and laborious work which the office of Judge Delegate entailed upon Hugh in addition to his own proper duties; and he was often appointed to act in this capacity. It also gives us a picture incidentally of the condition of the Church in England, showing how untrammelled was a Bishop who had powerful connexions such as Geoffrey had, and also what little notice such took of the Pope.

One more case may be given, this time of a different character, in which Hugh acted as Judge Delegate. This was one in which an action was brought by two

orphans against Jordan de Turri, a rich and influential citizen of London, for unlawful detention of their property. This case came within the scope of the ecclesiastical courts under the category of usury. On the day appointed Jordan swaggered into court in an overbearing manner, surrounded by his advocates, as if he had come not to plead, but to settle the case, and produced documents from the King, and other legal authorities, inhibiting Hugh from acting in the matter, and one from the Corporation of the City of London complaining of the infringement of the City's rights. It was, however, decided by his assessors that Hugh was competent to hear the case, whereupon he answered Jordan gently, "Indeed, Jordan, though you are dear to us, we can nevertheless under no circumstances put God second to you; but since it is useless, not only for these two poor children, but even for us and our assessors, to attempt anything against so many great friends as you have got, we will tell you plainly what we propose to do. But I speak for my own self, I will deliver my own soul. I will write, then, to the Lord Pope, that you alone of all the people in these lands, set yourself up against his jurisdiction, and that you alone strive to render his authority of no effect." That ended the matter, for Jordan was thoroughly frightened and made due satisfaction without delay.

These examples of Hugh's duties as judge, whether in his own courts, or as Judge Delegate, show how onerous this work must have been, and how great an amount of his time must have been occupied by such duties. Moreover, so great a reputation did he require for judicial honesty, that litigants who believed in the righteousness of their cause were anxious to have their cases tried before Hugh, feeling sure that with him as judge, justice would be done. Hugh seems to have been an excellent judge, clear-minded, acute, and very quick to detect truth from falsehood; so much so that we are told that trained lawyers were astonished at

his gifts in this respect, more particularly as he had received no legal training. But however painstaking and conscientious he was, however great the gifts for such work that he might possess, Hugh felt that such work ought not to fall within the scope of a Bishop's duties. It was very wearisome and tiring work, and above all he grudged the time that such duties occupied. As regards his own personal affairs, he would never sit in person on his own exchequer, entrusting all such business and the entire management of his household to men whom he trusted.

In matters such as this, too, there might be even personal danger incurred, though such consideration did not weigh with a man of his courage. On three different occasions, probably in connexion with disputed rights, of which unhappily his biographer gives no details whatsoever, Hugh was met with threats of personal violence: once in Lincoln, where he seems to have been assailed on account of some grievance, by a mob of clerks and layfolk, actually in the cathedral itself; on the second occasion in Holland, where he was in danger of personal ill-treatment at the hands of some knights and their retainers, when he was saved by the intervention of a kinsman of his own, belonging to his train, Sir William de Avalon; and once in Northampton he was subjected to the hostility of aggrieved burgesses. In all three cases, we are told, he quelled the tumult with gentle words.*

* *M.V.*, p. 167.

CHAPTER IX

RETREATS AT WITHAM

However busy and occupied Hugh might be, he never under any circumstances allowed other things to interfere either with his religious duties or with his own personal religion. He always said his offices with reverence and diligence, nor even when he was travelling about did he ever fail to keep the great festivals with due solemnity. Everything else, even though it were the business of the King himself, was kept secondary to the things of God. In illustration of this the story is told how on his journey to Le Mans in 1189 to attend the King's Council, he was present at Mass with Hugh de Nonant Bishop of Coventry on the feast of a Confessor, and the Bishop of Coventry began to say the introit, "The mouth of the wise shall meditate wisdom," in a natural voice. The Bishop of Lincoln, however, at once began to sing the introit to its proper tone. Hugh of Coventry thereupon expostulated, "We must get on more quickly, for the King has summoned us urgently." Hugh replied, "Nay, for the honour of the King of kings, Whose service comes before all others, and from Whose worship nothing must be derogated on account of earthly business, this feast must be kept as a feast, and not hastily slurred over"; and so insisted on Mass being decently and reverently celebrated without haste or omission.*

After his consecration to the see of Lincoln Hugh made it his rule to visit Witham once or twice a year

* *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, p. 99.

for a month or so at a time.* This practice he carried out nearly every year of his episcopate, and while at Witham he returned again to the life of a simple Carthusian monk, living in a cell by himself, and keeping the Rule in every detail. When on these occasions he came to Witham, the moment he reached the boundaries of the monastery his face would light up with joy and cheerfulness. Arrived at Witham, he would change his ordinary dress, which was, we are told, either black or dark red, for unlined sheepskin, always all his life wearing the hair-shirt which the Rule enjoined, and which he retained to the day of his death. He had no one to wait upon him, and in the morning when he washed his hands he had no towel. He celebrated Mass daily there with great devotion, content with two ministers to assist him, the sacrist of Witham and his own chaplain, and as a simple monk he took his weekly course of service, just like the other brethren, officiating at the choir offices. Except for his episcopal ring he made no difference in his vestments between himself and the other priests of the House. Every Sunday after supper he went with the other brethren to the Refectory to receive his weekly loaf of bread, but would often prefer still rougher fare, taking with his own hands, by the Prior's permission, from the receptacle in which they were kept, the crusts and fragments of stale bread gathered from the cells of the brethren or the Refectory. He took a special delight in washing and cleaning the utensils in which the food was cooked, rubbing and polishing them inside and out, with as much care, Adam records, as if they had been the Lord's chalice. Every Saturday without fail he made his confession, as ordered by the Carthusian Rule, and sometimes more often; and from time to time at Witham he would also make special confessions covering long periods of his life, and even going back to the days of his childhood. At Witham he enjoyed the society among

* *M.V.*, pp. 207 ff.

others of Adam, once Abbot of Driburgh, who had left the Premonstratensian Order for the Carthusian, and who had long talks with Hugh at these times, taking the most pessimistic possible view of the days in which they lived.*

But if Hugh received spiritual benefit from these retreats to Witham, so did the brethren equally benefit from his cheerful encouragement and exhortations. It was on these occasions that Hugh would talk of the great and good men of the Chartreuse, and would tell stories of his own life and experiences, by way of helping and guiding the younger brethren. In this way his chaplain Adam, who accompanied him on these retreats during the last three years of his life, learned many details of Hugh's earlier life. Among the inmates was still old brother Ainard, who had been one of Hugh's companions when he first came to Witham. He was said to be nearly a hundred years old, and had travelled far and wide, helping in the foundation of various houses of the Order in different lands. At this time the old man was smitten with a great longing and desire to return to the Chartreuse, and made his plans to go back to the place that to him was home, and lay his old bones among those of the saints with whom he had passed his younger days. But for a variety of reasons his departure suffered one delay after another, till at last in desperation he took the matter into his own hands, and bidding farewell to the brethren, took his staff, and started on his journey, apparently without permission. Ainard had purposely refrained from telling Hugh of his intention beforehand, lest he should seek to dissuade him, but Hugh, hearing at once of his departure, followed him and expostulated with him. "Almighty God spare thee, brother Ainard, what is this that you have planned to do? How could you think of departing without your pupil, and of leaving me in a strange land alone, and deprived of the comfort and companionship of

* *M.V.*, p. 201 ff.

my guide? Indeed, I know quite well with what sacred longing you are moved to be enabled to pass your last days amongst the holy hermits of Burgundy, but still more does the same reasoning and longing move me to do the same." Then sending for his clerks he drew off from his finger his Bishop's ring and said to them, "Go with as much haste as you can, and take this ring of mine with you. Greet my lords of Lincoln with my words, and bid them look out and choose for themselves another Bishop as quickly as they can, that I may be able to enjoy the solitude which is so dear to me. I have lived too long amid worldly turmoils, wrongly preferring the vain and bitter affairs of this world to the sweet and holy manner of life in which I was brought up from my boyhood."

The old man, on hearing these words and the amazed expostulations of the chaplains, began to have doubts as to whether his purpose was to be justified if it involved Hugh as well, and himself joined in dissuading him from carrying into effect this sudden resolution. "Ind d," he exclaimed, "so long as the breath of life shall animate these limbs of mine, I will never let you leave your flock, and neglect the salvation of the many, for the sake of yourself alone. It is better for me to abide in this foreign land to the end, and if needs be die here, than to be the cause of such a separation. So let us go home, lest while we seek our own good, we should incur the blame of neglecting those things which belong to Jesus Christ." So the wisdom and prudence of Hugh prevailed, and the two returned home together, after entering into a mutual agreement that Ainard should not leave Witham, and Hugh for his part should remain at Lincoln.*

Ainard's life is very interesting as an example of the marvellous courage, energy, and faithfulness of the earlier Carthusian monks. He was a layman, and could neither read nor write. He had taken part

* *M.V.*, pp. 210 ff.

in the founding of many daughter houses, before he came with Hugh to Witham. On one occasion, when sent into Spain in connexion with a new foundation, two of the brethren very dear to him were taken prisoners by the Arabs, and Ainard, with great difficulty, obtained permission from his Prior to seek after and try to rescue them. He found the captives, and actually prevailed upon their owner by prayers and threats and exhortations to release them without ransom, and brought them safely home again. At another time he held disputations with the Albigenses, and eventually persuaded the neighbouring nobles to undertake a crusade against them, with the result that many were killed, and the strength of the heresy much diminished. When very old, he was suddenly ordered to leave the Chartreuse on a mission to Denmark. He was much troubled by this command, not only on account of the laborious nature of the journey, but also because of the reputation of the Danes for barbarity. He begged to be excused, but was not listened to, and in the end refused to go. As a result of this act of disobedience he was at once expelled from the Order, but after many prayers for readmission was received back, and not long afterwards sent with Hugh to Witham, and here at Witham, in spite of all his longing to return to the Chartreuse, he died at the age, it was said, of a hundred and thirty years.

Hugh's visits to Witham generally took place in the autumn. On the very last night of the Bishop's last visit a fire broke out in the monastery. Hugh had bidden the brethren a solemn farewell, and had given them his blessing. During the singing of the night office a bright light was seen through the windows at the west end of the church. Those nearest the door ran out to see what was wrong, and to their consternation found the kitchen all ablaze. There were other buildings close to the kitchen, and these were in great danger of being involved in the conflagration. The kitchen in question seems to have been a temporary

structure for the benefit of the guests and their attendants, and was built of wood or wattle with a thatch roof. It was only six or seven feet away from the guest-hall, and the cells of the *conversi,* which were still only of wood, were near by, arranged in a circle. The church also stood in considerable danger, inasmuch as it was surrounded by buildings on every side. Hugh at once entered the church and betook himself to prayer. His prayers were heard, and though the kitchen was wholly destroyed, no damage was done to the rest of the establishment. Hugh had before ordered a stone building to be erected, fearing the very event which had now come to pass.*

Incidentally the account of this fire is interesting, as showing that even at this date large parts of the monastic buildings were still built only of wood.

* *M.V.*, p. 220.

CHAPTER X

MIRACLES DURING HIS LIFETIME

HUGH's attitude towards miracles was restrained. Of the miracles of the Saints and Fathers of the Church he had no shadow of doubt, but read of them with edification.* Of miracles of his own day, and of the stories with which he came into contact, it is clear that he was doubtful and suspicious, except those which were wrought by means of well-accredited relics. But he deprecated strongly any ascription of the working of miracles to himself, and would not discuss them, nor allow reference to be made to them in his presence. None the less a few miracles were definitely ascribed to him during his lifetime, and many more after his death.

Perhaps the most striking of the miracles with which he was credited is the miracle of the Host, a type of miracle common in the Middle Ages.† It is probable that this happened during the earlier years of his episcopate, before the death of Archbishop Baldwin, which took place in 1192, for Baldwin seems to be the Archbishop referred to. While living on his manor of Buckden, it happened one day that a very beautiful chalice was brought to him by a priest to be consecrated. Hugh had just come in from burying a servant of the Archdeacon of Bedford, and was about to say Mass. It was a Saturday, and so the Mass was to be, according to custom, that of our Lady. The Bishop was much impressed by the beauty of the chalice, and brought it down from the altar to show to the clergy in the choir, praising the zeal and devotion of the priest who had provided so beautiful a vessel for sacred purposes, and contrasting with his piety the

* *M.V.*, pp. 97, 245. † *M.V.*, pp. 237–41.

apathy and carelessness of so many who were content with tattered books and poor vessels for the service of God. He then returned to the altar and began the Mass. When he had reached that place in the service where it is customary "to elevate and bless the Host soon to become by the mystic words of consecration the Body of Christ," the eyes of a certain clerk present were opened, and he beheld Christ in the Bishop's hands under the form of a little child, and though small in size, of a refulgent whiteness beyond man's imagination. The clerk, kindled with wondrous devotion, remained bathed in tears until the time of the second elevation just before the fraction, when he saw again "under the same form as before the Son of the Most High born of the Virgin offering Himself to the Father for the salvation of mankind."

After the Mass the clerk sought Hugh, telling him that he had something to communicate to him, and was taken aside privately, and told him this story. The day after All Saints' Day, a week ago, while he was engaged in saying the Office of the Dead, he heard a voice suddenly bidding him go at once to the Bishop of Lincoln, and command him in God's name to admonish the Archbishop of Canterbury to give more careful heed to the better ordering of the Church and the clergy. He was to declare to him how that many of the clergy, priests and others, were polluted with all manner of vices, and yet did not fear to approach the altar and celebrate the Sacraments; that the churches were given to the rule of worldly and unworthy bishops, and the souls of those committed to them were neglected, the poor were left without help, avarice reigned everywhere supreme, and that in consequence the anger of God was threatening the inhabitants of the land. Then the voice came again, repeating the same words. The young clerk was filled with wonder at the manifestation, puzzled as to its nature and meaning, and quite at a loss how to act. But during that night the voice came to him again,

repeating the command, and on his asking how Hugh would take notice of such an one as he, the voice told him that Hugh would listen to him when he informed him of the sign that he (the clerk) should see when next he was present at the celebration of Mass by the Bishop.

Hugh was much impressed by his communication, strictly charging the clerk to tell this matter to no man, and when he dismissed him with his blessing next day he strongly urged him to become a monk. Adam tells us that he followed the Bishop's advice and entered the religious life. In his new life he continued to see visions, and some of these were, at Hugh's command, committed to writing. But when Adam gives us as an example of his revelations that he foretold the recovery of Jerusalem, our confidence in their value tends to be somewhat shaken.

As a matter of fact, Adam evinces a certain amount of hesitation in accepting this story, as is seen in the account of the dream which he had of St. Hugh after his death.* In his dream he saw the saint, and asked him as to the truth of the vision, "My Lord, I hear the story told by many, and my confirmation is often asked on the point, though I have never been told anything definite, how that once when you were celebrating the Holy Mysteries, the Body of the Lord was manifested to, and seen by, you under the form of an invisible child in your hands, a certain clerk witnessing the same with you. My mind is frequently pricked with repentance that I never asked you to your face as to the truth of this matter, although I so often talked to you on such intimate terms." Hugh's answer in the dream was a rebuke. "Even if," he replied, "on the occasion of which you speak, and indeed at other times as well, the Lord was pleased to grant me this revelation, what business is it of yours?"

There Adam leaves it. But fortunately we know a little more about this visionary. The young clerk's

* *M.V.*, pp. 361–2.

name was Edmund, and he became a monk of Eynsham. While here he acquired a certain amount of fame from a series of visions which he saw while lying in a trance which lasted from Good Friday till the end of Easter Eve (April 18–19), 1196. Among these visions, it may be remarked, he saw a former Archbishop of Canterbury, who is almost certainly Baldwin, undergoing punishment for his lax government of the Church during his lifetime. This vision was written down at the time by Adam the Sub-Prior of Eynsham,* who became Hugh's chaplain. This identification is definitely made by the writer, probably Ralph Coggleshall the chronicler, of The Vision of Thurkill.† The subsequent history of Edmund is not known, though he seems to have enjoyed considerable repute in his day, and his visions are referred to by both Wendover and Matthew Paris.‡

Another miracle wrought by Hugh was one in which he healed a mad sailor of Cheshunt.§ Adam tells us that some years after Hugh's death, somewhere about 1211–12, he happened to travel through Cheshunt in company with Richard Abbot of Waltham, and took the opportunity of inquiring into the case in person. This miracle is also one of those included in the Report of the Papal Commission on the sworn evidence of Adam, who had by that time become Abbot of Eynsham. Hugh was on his way home from London,

* A copy of this exists at the B.M., MS. Cleop. C. X.

† B.M., MS. Roy. 13, D. V.

‡ A French version of the Visions, now lost, was made from the Latin, and from this a new translation was made back into Latin (B.M., MS. Cal. A. VIII, ff. 192–209). An English translation from this was printed by W. de Machlinia about 1482, *A meruelous reuelacion . . . to a monk of Euyshame,* which was reprinted by Valerian Paget (London: Alston Rivers, 1909), *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham Abbey.* Evesham in both these latter cases should be, of course, Eynsham, the confusion being due, as often, to the similarity of the letters *n* and *u*. A general account of the Visions is to be found in Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum,* II, pp. 493 ff., 512.

§ *M.V.*, pp. 274, 275. Other authorities also give an account of this miracle.

where he had been to protest to the Archbishop against some action of the King. Most of his company had gone on ahead, and when Hugh himself with a few companions had reached the middle of the town, he was surrounded by a crowd of the inhabitants of the place, who implored him to come to lay his hands on one of their fellow-citizens who had been seized by a most fierce devil. Hugh, "not content to bless him from afar," dismounted from his horse, and entered the house where the sick man lay. There he found the poor wretch stretched on his back, with his head tied to one post, his feet to another, his hands extended on either side of him and each fastened to a stake in the ground, making the most horrible contortions, rolling his eyes and grinding his teeth, a pitiful sight. Hugh went up to him, and having made the sign of the cross over him, proceeded to read the Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word." The man lay quite still looking at him, with fear in his eyes like a dog expecting a beating, till Hugh came to the end of the Gospel, when he put out his tongue at him in derision. Hugh sprinkled him with holy water, and bade his friends to give him some to drink, and after blessing him took his departure. The man recovered his senses, and lived for some time afterwards without suffering any relapse, and most devoutly. The people of Cheshunt told Adam that many had previously blessed the man but without avail, and that his own Bishop had been so terrified at the sight of him that he had at once mounted his horse and ridden off as if pursued by all the furies.*

Another story is told of a small boy, who, given by his father a little broken-off fragment of a ploughshare to play with, put it in his mouth and got it lodged in his throat, where it remained fixed so that the child could only take a little liquid, and came at last to the point of death. Hugh happened to be passing through the village, Alconbury, in Huntingdonshire, and was

* *Report of the Commissioners, Legenda, M.L.*, ll. 1064–78, etc.

called in to see the child. Hugh touched the child's throat, blessed him, and breathed on him, and, signing him with the cross, departed. The accounts of this miracle illustrate how such stories became exaggerated in the telling, for while most of the accounts say that the child was healed at once, the *Report of the Commissioners,* which is more exact, tells us that it was Friday on which Hugh paid his visit to the child, and that the fragment of iron worked up out of the child's throat on the following Sunday.

A madman at Lincoln, who became so violent that he had to be restrained from attacking his wife and children, was cured by Hugh, who sprinkled the afflicted man with holy water and exorcized him.*

Two sons of one Lauretta, a matron of Lincoln, were healed by the laying on of the Bishop's hands, on two different occasions; the former suffering from a tumour, the second recovering from jaundice within three days of the laying on of his hands.†

A curious story is told by Adam, on the authority of Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter, of the effect of Hugh's prayers on behalf of a woman who was persecuted by devils, and who was ultimately delivered from the persecutors by using St. John's wort as a charm against the evil ones. Hugh's actual part in this miracle is not clear.‡

On one occasion while he was at Buckden, somewhere about 1198, the Dean of those parts came to him, to complain of a certain " wise woman " who possessed a pythonic spirit.§ The country folk were accustomed to have recourse to her when thefts had been committed, or spells had been secretly wrought on them. She had such a tongue, apparently, that she easily confounded and reduced to silence the Dean in question and various other discreet clerks who had striven

* *Report of the Commissioners, Legenda, M.L.,* ll. 1088 ff.
† *Report, Legenda.*
‡ *M.V.,* p. 269.
§ *M.V.,* p. 267.

to bring home to her the evil of her ways. The Bishop promised to see what he could do, if, when he passed through the Deanery in a few days' time, the Dean would bring the offender to him. The wise woman was duly brought to him, and with his accustomed courtesy Hugh descended from his horse to speak to her. On the same occasion there was a little crowd standing by, who had brought their children to be confirmed. As the woman stood before him, Hugh rebuked her angrily, not so much chiding the woman herself, as the hidden spirit which dwelt within her. "Come now, you wretch," he said, "what can you divine for my benefit?" And holding out his closed hand in which he had grasped the end of his stole, which he always wore under his cloak, he added, "Tell me, if you please, what I have grasped in this hand of mine." At this simple question the woman, who had been so loquacious and stiff-necked with others, collapsed on the ground without a word to say for herself. The Bishop bade them raise her up, and asked her through the Rural Dean, for he was unable to understand her speech, whence she had derived her knowledge of divination. She answered humbly, "I do not know how to divine, but I beg for the holy Bishop's mercy," and again fell at his feet. Hugh laid his hands on her, and blessed her, and ordered her to be taken to the Prior of Huntingdon, the penitentiary of the district, bidding her make a good confession and duly perform such penance as might be laid on her; also warning her seriously not to dabble in spells for the future. The woman went away, and carried out all his bidding, and became ever after a changed woman, modest and silent, whereas she had been forward and garrulous heretofore. This incident seems to have been regarded as miraculous.

But if Hugh's attitude towards miracles was cautious, and he disclaimed the working of miracles for himself, on the other hand he set very great value on the relics of saints, and sought most eagerly to

acquire them. He possessed a silver casket in which he preserved the various relics of saints which he, or his chaplain Adam on his behalf, was able to collect at different times.* This casket, we are told, he was wont to carry in his hands whenever he dedicated a church, and ultimately presented it as a very precious gift to the Chartreuse on the occasion of his last visit to the House shortly before his death. He had, moreover, made for him a curious ring for the same purpose, of purest gold and precious stones. In the place of the jewel was a receptacle which extended right across the back of his fingers, and which held small portions of relics. This he called his "sacramental ring," and he wore it always on such occasions as the conferring of Orders. This ring he left to the altar of St. Mary of Lincoln, and we hear of it on one occasion after his death in the case of a dropsical woman, who was healed of her malady by drinking water in which the ring had been immersed. From Fleury he obtained a tooth of St. Benedict which was enclosed in this "sacramental ring."

He acquired from Fécamp a bone of St. Mary Magdalene. The circumstances of this last acquisition appear so strange to the modern mind that I give Adam's account of it. "Also at the famous monastery at Fécamp he broke off by biting, two portions of bone of the most blessed lover of Christ Mary Magdalene. Now, none of those present at the time had ever seen the relic out of its covering, for it was tightly sewn up in two casings, one of silk, and the other of plain linen. When the Bishop begged for a sight of the bone itself, and no one dared to show it, he himself took a pocket-knife from his notary, cut the threads without hesitation, and undoing the wrappings applied the relic with devotion to his lips and eyes. And when he was unable to break it by the power of his fingers, he used first his front teeth, and then his back teeth, and by means of them managed

* *M.V.*, pp. 315 ff.

to break off two portions, which he delivered into the hands of the writer of this account, saying, 'Take great care of these for me.' When the Abbot and monks witnessed this act, they were overwhelmed at first with amazement and fear, feelings which soon gave way to hot anger, and exclaimed, "Oh, oh, what abominable conduct!' We had thought that the Bishop sought to see these sacred relics that he might venerate them, and lo! he has torn them with his teeth like a dog!"

As they gave vent to such utterances Hugh quietened them with soothing words, making among others this remark, which is worthy of record, "If we have touched, as we did a little while ago, with our unworthy fingers the most Holy Body of the Holy of Holies, and have also received It into our inward parts, using our teeth and lips, why should we not also handle in like manner the relics of His saints to our protection, and to the greater promotion of our veneration and remembrance of them? and why should we not acquire them when the opportunity is offered, that we may cherish them with the honour that is due to them?" *

Such zeal for the procuring of sacred relics on which he set a high value appears to us in these days to have led Hugh into adopting doubtful methods of acquisition, but we must judge him in such matters as this by the standards of his own day, not of ours, and it is clear that Adam recounts this story as evidence of his great and praiseworthy zeal.

Another time Hugh acquired in much the same manner, from the Abbey of Peterborough, a small portion of the arm of St. Oswald, King and Martyr, which he cut off with a knife from the relic of the saint that was preserved there. This found a home in the "sacramental ring." This ring, it may be added, remained with its contents at Lincoln till the time of the spoliation.

* *M.V.*, p. 317.

CHAPTER XI

HUGH AND KING RICHARD

King Henry died in 1189. All contemporary writers agree that he had a very great regard and affection for Hugh, and, as a result of the respect in which he held him, had allowed him a much greater freedom of action than he was in the habit of allowing to other men. Gerald de Barri, who was in a position to know, tells us that Henry, on account of his absolute belief in Hugh's sincerity, integrity, and holiness, tolerated many actions on his part and passed over many others, pretending not to notice them, which in the case of any other man would have called forth his heavy anger.*

Richard was regarded by his contemporaries as a better man than his father, but as a matter of fact possessed most of his father's vices, including a proneness to fierce outbursts of uncontrollable passion, but on the other hand was casual and in some respects easy. He was entirely lacking in his father's capacity for keen application to business, nor had he any sense of the heavy responsibilities of his position. He neglected his realm most shamefully, using it as a means simply for providing money for the carrying out of schemes dear to his heart, the chief of these being the deliverance of Jerusalem from the infidel.

Hugh was present at Richard's coronation. The next day, on his way after saying Mass to do homage to the King at Westminster, he came across an unburied corpse, and ascertaining that it was the body of a Christian and not of a Jew, characteristically

* *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, p. 101.

stopped on his way to give it burial, arriving at Court late, but in time to do his homage. There had been a massacre of the Jews in London on the day of Richard's coronation, and bodies were still, apparently, lying about unburied.

In 1191 Hugh took a prominent part in the trial of the oppressive and unpopular Bishop of Ely, William de Longchamp, Chancellor of the realm, which resulted in William's loss of all his offices and his banishment from England.*

In 1194 Hugh came into conflict with Richard for the first time. The King was as usual in desperate straits for money, and sought by every means to procure what he needed. In this year he made a claim against the see of Lincoln.† It was alleged that an annual payment of a rich mantle was due to the King from the Bishop of Lincoln, and as this payment had not been made for many years, it was claimed that a considerable sum had accumulated and was due to the King. A demand was accordingly made for this sum in the King's name. Money in coin was always very scarce in medieval times, and this sudden demand for a large sum caused the Bishop very great financial embarrassment, since, inasmuch as every penny he had to spare was spent on his innumerable charities, he was never able to save. The whole affair seems to have been inconceivably petty and dishonouring to the King, but it would seem that the claim was enforceable, according to the strict letter of the law, for otherwise Hugh would certainly not have paid it.

It appears that Bishop Alexander (1123–48) had given the King annually a mantle of the value of 100 marcs, and that he had made this payment regularly. Bishop Robert de Chesney (1148–67) had made the same payment occasionally. Then there came the long vacancy of the see during which no payment at all was made, and Walter de Coutances (1183–4), Hugh's immediate predecessor, also had

* R. Hoveden, iii, p. 141. † *M.V.*, pp. 183 ff.

made no payment. One would have thought that the omission to pay this due was at least balanced by the King's profits out of the revenues of the see during the many years that it had been vacant, but Richard had no conscience, and now with incredible meanness demanded the sum of 3,000 marcs for arrears and for release from the payment of the tribute for the future. Hugh was placed in great difficulty. Money, as has been said, was scarce in those days. People lived very largely on the produce of their lands, and a large part of Hugh's revenue would be in kind, which he would consume as he moved about with his train from manor to manor. Indeed, Hugh was even forced at times to borrow money, so lavish was his almsgiving. Whence was he to raise at once so large a sum as this? At last he resolved to take what seemed to him to be the only course possible, and that was to retire to Witham, and there lead once more the life of a simple monk, till the revenues of his see should have accumulated sufficiently to pay off the amount of the debt.

This plan appealed to him the more as it would give him some rest from his cares and labours. But his clergy thought otherwise, and vehemently opposed the carrying out of any such scheme. They undertook themselves to raise the necessary sum of money, and were able with some difficulty to persuade Hugh to accept their offer. Only he made it a strict condition that the raising of this money was to be free from any suggestion even of exaction on the part of the clergy, and that no man was to be required under any circumstances to contribute against his will. Hugh was perfectly aware of the danger of rapacity by the officials of the Church, and carefully guarded against this present effort being made the occasion of unjust exaction. The King himself, it was said, had cynically remarked that really he was benefiting the Bishop more than himself by making this demand, for of course the opportunity would be taken by Hugh

of extracting more from the faithful than would be required to pay off the King. But Hugh was not like some other bishops of his day; he was an honest man.

In the same connexion, we are told, Hugh strictly forbade his Archdeacons and their officials and the Rural Deans to accept any pecuniary payments by way of penance. This scandal was rife, and Archdeacons in particular had a very bad name all through the Middle Ages for extortion under all sorts of pretexts either by themselves or by their officials. Gerald writes of the Archdeacon, "So is this office at this day given over, beyond all other offices of the Church, to rapacity, that the very name of Archdeacon inspires as much horror in the ears of those who hear it as that of archdevil, for as the latter is a robber of men's souls, so is the former a robber of men's pockets." * It would not be difficult to find equally unequivocal descriptions of Archdeacons in contemporary writers.

That the custom of taking money in lieu of penance was quite common is shown by the fact that objection was at once taken to Hugh's attitude in this matter. It was argued to him that as a matter of fact many evil-doers had greater dread of a pecuniary fine than they had of excommunication itself, but Hugh would not listen. Others adduced the example of St. Thomas himself as allowing the practice, but Hugh only answered, "Believe me, it was not on those grounds that he was a saint. Other merits and virtues showed him to be a saint, and it was for other reasons than this that he was found worthy to bear the palm of martyrdom." †

The matter of the mantle was hardly settled when, in the very next year, 1195, another dispute arose between the King and Hugh, the question of the patronage of Eynsham Abbey.‡ The Abbey at Eynsham had been restored and reformed by Remigius, first Bishop of

* Girald. Cambr. *Gemma Ecclesiastica,* D. ii, c. xxxiii.
† *M.V.*, p. 188.
‡ *M.V.*, pp. 190, 191.

Lincoln, while the seat of the bishopric was still at Dorchester, and King William had confirmed the patronage of the abbey to Remigius and his successors. In 1195 Geoffrey, who had been Abbot for some forty-four years, ever since the time of Stephen, died. The Bishop thereupon sent, according to custom, one of his clerks to receive into his hands the abbey and its revenues, until such time as the brethren should proceed to the canonical election of a new Abbot. The King was at this time, as usual, abroad, engaged in fighting the French, but his officials in England at once laid claim to the custody of the abbey, and the right to issue a licence for the election of a new Abbot. Many of Hugh's friends, according to Adam, advised him very strongly that he had no grounds for opposing the King's claim, inasmuch as by a General Constitution King Henry had decreed "that all abbeys within the realm should remain in the King's hand." This reference is evidently to the twelfth Article of the Constitutions of Clarendon, but if so, the King's advisers gave it a very wide interpretation, for that article refers only to Royal abbeys. Moreover, the Conqueror quite definitely gave the patronage to the Bishops of Lincoln.

So Hugh stood firmly by the rights of the Church. "God forbid," he answered those who were for his yielding to the King, "that any man should take upon himself to make such a decree as to enable him to deprive our God and the most blessed Queen of Heaven of what belongs to them. Laws of this kind, even though duly enacted, would simply provide cause for future trouble, nor would they override the legislation of former rulers. And who of my predecessors ever gave his consent to a decree by which his rights would have been legally forfeited? God forbid that the decree of any lay authority whatever should ever invade the rights and freedom of the Church. Far be it from me, so far as I am concerned, to permit the loss of any right by the Church my Mistress, through any fear on

my part of any potentate, or any dread of being involved in trouble thereby. For if it be a source of shame that one be not able actually to add to the honours and liberties of Holy Church which have been won by our forefathers and defended by our predecessors, how shameful indeed would it be if, through the lack of energy on the part of an incapable and inactive ruler, these rights should be allowed to be diminished even in the slightest degree, which by an energetic guardian ought to be rather increased and advanced."

So he fought the claim in the King's court, and after a struggle which lasted for two years, judgment was given in the Bishop's favour. Hugh thereupon went down in person to Eynsham, where he was joyfully received and entertained. He gave orders for an election to be made, and in a week's time a new Abbot, Peter, was duly chosen and presented to Hugh, by whom his election was at once confirmed. Abbot Peter then returned with Hugh to Lincoln, where his solemn benediction took place in the cathedral, and so he returned to his abbey, dismissed with many presents, among them an Abbot's staff of ebony inlaid with silver, a token perhaps of the vindication of the rights of Bishop and abbey.

It was almost certainly at this time that Hugh took into his service Adam, the Sub-Prior of Eynsham and ultimately Abbot of that house. For the last three years of Hugh's life Adam lived with him continuously as his devoted chaplain and friend, gathering material both from the opportunities offered by his own position, and from what he was enabled to learn from others for the *Magna Vita* of his master which is our chief authority for his life.

Somewhere about this time Hugh had trouble with the Earl of Leicester, who laid claim to certain lands which the Bishop held.* Hugh withstood the claim, though he was advised by friends to effect a compromise if he could. He was present at the hearing

* *M.V.*, p. 233.

of this case, as in all cases in which he was concerned which were heard in secular courts. This particular case did not terminate in Hugh's lifetime, and was eventually after Hugh's death decided in favour of the Earl against the Bishop of Lincoln; but the Earl was afterwards, it was noted, stricken with leprosy, in consequence, as it was believed, of persecuting the holy Bishop.

In 1197 Hugh again came into serious conflict with the King. In this year a colloquium of the Barons was held at Oxford under the presidency of Hubert Walter Archbishop of Canterbury.* The Archbishop laid before the assembly the necessities of the King, who was at the time waging war against the King of France, and bade them take counsel together how they might serve him, and in the end presented a demand from the King that the Baronage should find him at their own charges three hundred knights for a year's service abroad. The Archbishop and the Bishop of London at once signified their readiness to comply, doubtless to set an example to the other Bishops assembled. Hugh of Lincoln was next called upon for his answer, and to the amazement and great indignation of the Archbishop definitely refused his compliance. He claimed that he had made a very careful study of the rights and duties of his predecessors with the object of performing such duties faithfully and loyally, and declared that he was not required to give the King military service outside England. He acknowledged the duty of giving aid within the realm, but flatly denied that he was liable to render it outside England, and now definitely refused to do so. Hubert, trembling with anger at Hugh's answer, turned to the Bishop of Salisbury, and Herbert, following the lead of the Bishop of Lincoln, refused the aid as he had done. The Archbishop at once dismissed the assembly in great wrath, and must evidently have believed that others would follow the examples of the two Bishops.

* *M.V.*, p. 249.

It is difficult to understand Hugh's attitude on this occasion, for he was flagrantly in the wrong. "One is tempted to believe," writes Professor G. B. Adams, "that some essential point is omitted from the accounts we have of this incident, or that some serious mistake has been made in them, either in the speech of Bishop Hugh given us in his biography, or in the terms of Richard's demand recorded in two slightly different forms. . . . But to refuse service on the ground that it could not be required except in England was to go against the unbroken practice of more than a hundred years. Nor was there anything contrary to precedent in the demand for three hundred knights to serve a year. The union of the military tenants to equip a smaller force than the whole service due to the lord, but for a longer time than the period of required feudal service, was not uncommon. The demand implied a feudal force due to the King of England of less than three thousand knights, and this was well within his actual rights, though, if we accept the very doubtful statement of one of our authorities that their expenses were to be reckoned at the rate of three shillings per day, the total cost would exceed that of any ordinary scutage." *

But it does not seem necessary to seek any unknown reason for Hugh's refusal. If he thought that this demand in any way conflicted with what he considered were, or should be, the rights of the Church, he would not have hesitated to refuse. As we have already seen, it was his view that laws duly made by rightful authority should not be obeyed, if they were not compatible with the privileges of the Church, or if they seemed to be morally unjust. His attitude in this case doubtless represented what he thought should be the attitude of a Christian Bishop, and it is doubtful if he would concern himself with the duties of the lay Barons, which he would regard as no affair of his or the Church. He was not interested in constitutional

* *Political History of England*, vol. ii, pp. 382, 383.

questions. Here again Hugh's utter lack of any sense of nationality or patriotism stands out very clearly.

When Richard received the report of Archbishop Hubert's failure he was furiously angry, and at once ordered the seizure of the property of the Bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury. The royal officers forthwith laid hands on the possessions of the Bishop of Salisbury, who, after suffering from them infinite damage, vexation, and insult, bought back the King's peace and his own property with a great sum of money. But the officers were not so ready to take active measures against Hugh, for so great was his reputation that no one dared to put forth his hand against him, and men were more afraid of incurring his anathema than of death. So things went on from December 6, 1197, till September 1, 1198, the King on the one hand repeatedly bidding his officers to carry his orders into effect, and the officials on the other hand one and all being afraid to act. It was at length at the urgent petition of these unfortunate officers, who were thus placed in a very difficult position, that the Bishop crossed the sea to face the King in person. It was characteristic of him that he made no attempt to secure anyone to act as mediator, but went straight to the King without hesitation and without fear.

Hugh found the King at his castle of Roche d'Andeli hearing Mass, the day being the feast of St. Augustine, and at once greeted him. The King stood on his throne, the Bishops of Hereford and Ely standing below him, but he took no notice of him, looking at him angrily for a minute or two and then turning his face away. "Give me a kiss, Lord King," said Hugh, but the King turned the more away from him, and gave no heed to him. Thereupon Hugh laid hold of the King's mantle, and shook him vigorously, saying, "You owe me a kiss, for I am come a long way to see you." The King answered, "You do not deserve that I should kiss you," but Hugh shaking him again vigorously by his mantle, which he still kept clutched

in his hand, answered confidently, "Nay, but I do deserve it." The King then, admiring his assurance and confidence, laughed and kissed him.

There were, we are told, two Archbishops and five Bishops present, who occupied the space between the King and the altar, who, when they saw Hugh's triumph, made way for him among themselves, and Hugh, going to the side of the altar, gave himself up devoutly to hearing the Mass. At the Agnus Dei the celebrant gave the Pax to the Archbishop, who, according to custom, gave it to the King; and Richard, instead of giving it to the other Archbishop, who expected it, humbly and reverently gave it to the Bishop of Lincoln, thus fulfilling, Adam remarks, the word of the Lord (1 Sam. ii. 30), "Them that honour Me I will honour."

When Mass was over, Hugh had his interview with the King, and in few but strong words reproached Richard for his unjust anger against him, and tried to convince him that he had given no cause of offence. The King was not able to answer his arguments, but laid the whole blame of his actions on the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had, he declared, often written and reported evil of Hugh to him. The relations between Hugh and Hubert had never, as a matter of fact, been good. The Bishop had rebuked his Metropolitan for putting his secular before his spiritual duties, and the rebuke had not been taken kindly.* Indeed, the two were not reconciled even when Hugh was on his deathbed. The Archbishop then, as Hugh lay dying, asked for an expression of sorrow from him for his undutiful attitude towards his superior, and not only did Hugh refuse any such expression of sorrow, but resolutely declared that if he recovered he would most certainly maintain an attitude so justified by the facts. On this present occasion Hugh was able to persuade the King that such reports were altogether contrary to the truth, declaring, "saving the honour of God, and the salvation of my own soul and yours,

* *M.V.*, p. 246.

I have never, wholly or in part, set myself against serving you in your needs." The saving clause was, however, a large one, and capable of a very wide interpretation.

Richard's anger being now assuaged, Hugh was soon in complete favour again. The King bestowed many presents on him, among them, Gerald says, a large pike,* and entertained him at his new castle, Château Gaillard—Saucy Castle—his new impregnable fortification near Roche d'Andeli of which he was so proud. He had long conversations with Hugh, in which he showed great friendliness towards him, and Hugh took the opportunity of questioning the King "as his parishioner" as to his spiritual condition. Richard answered that his conscience was quiet on all points, except in so far that he hated his enemies. But this did not satisfy Hugh, who told him quite openly that it was a matter of common report that he was unfaithful to his Queen; that he invaded the rights of the Church in his appointment to benefices; that he appointed men to positions in the Church as a reward for secular services, and even in return for simoniacal payment. At last he was dismissed by Richard, who submitted "for the time" to his admonitions, and who made many excuses for his conduct, and begged for the benefit of the Bishop's prayers on his behalf. When he had gone, the King praised him very highly to his courtiers for his unfailing integrity and above all for his courage. "If only other Bishops generally were like him," the King declared, "no King or Prince would ever venture to oppose them." †

It was then suggested to the King that he might at least make use of Hugh and send a letter by him demanding an aid, inasmuch as under the circumstances such a messenger would be likely to make the letter more acceptable to those to whom it was addressed. But this astute move failed. It had been taken for granted that Hugh would be only too glad to ingratiate himself

* *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, 105. † *M.V.*, p. 255.

with the King, and maintain the reconciliation so recently effected. But they had reckoned wrongly, for Hugh flatly refused to be the bearer of any such letter. "Far be it from me," he answered, when the matter was put to him, "for this accords neither with my views nor my office. It is no part of my duty to act as bearer of the King's letters. Nay, I will go further, and say that it is not for me to be implicated even in the slightest degree in exactions of this sort. Do you not realize that our great King always has a way of asking as if with a drawn sword in his hands, and his power constrains even when he asks? English kings have a habit of deceiving men at the outset with polite greetings, and then eventually use the roughest force and violence to make them pay not what they are willing to pay, but what the royal pleasure demands. For they often force men to do things against their will which they or their predecessors happen to have done voluntarily on one particular occasion. Far be it from me to be mixed up in any such matters, for though by such means the favour of an earthly king may be assured by my labour, the anger of Almighty God would consequently be incurred." * So Hugh showed that he still thought the same as before, but his words also seem to show that his stand in this matter was taken as a protest against the King's methods generally. His declaration that a voluntary act was often taken and used as a precedent on which to claim it in the future as a right, points to his own experience, and the case of the mantle is evidently in his mind and still rankling.

His answer was reported to Richard, who would seem to have been somewhat ashamed of this attempt to make such a mean use of Hugh, and who now contented himself with sending him a message that he need not trouble to come in person next morning to take his leave, and bidding him return with God's blessing to his Church, as he was intending. But the

* *M.V.*, p. 256.

King had found further cause to respect Hugh. Adam tells us how on the morning of their arrival Hugh's companions, who were not looking forward to this visit to the angry King with the same quiet confidence as their Bishop, as they came up the steps of the chapel in which the King was hearing Mass, heard the words of the Sequence (for the Common of a Confessor), "Hail, illustrious Bishop of Christ, most lovely blossom," and as they went in the words further on in the Sequence, "O blessed, O holy Augustine, succour this congregation," and were much comforted by the good omen of the words, for they had been much frightened at the King's treatment of the Bishop of Salisbury.

Now two great nobles, the Earl Marshal and the Earl of Albemarle, had been much moved by the sufferings of the Bishop of Salisbury and much alarmed by the threats against the Bishop of Lincoln. These two nobles met Hugh at Rouen on his way to the King, and begged him to accept their mediation in whatever way seemed good to him, assuring him that they would willingly purchase his peace with the King with the whole of their means, rather than that he should be subjected to Richard's fury and violence. Hugh refused the offer made by the two earls, for he would not involve them in any way or risk the loss of their favour with the King, but asked them to notify the King of his arrival and procure an audience for him. The earls told the King the whole story, and doubtless it was this fresh evidence of Hugh's unselfishness, honesty, and courage that procured for him the unexpectedly gentle treatment which he received at the King's hands.

Soon after his return to England Hugh received a curious but characteristic mark of Richard's esteem for him. A fight took place at Gisors between the Kings of England and France, and by Richard's instructions a detailed account of this was sent to the Bishop of Lincoln.

But this was not the end of Hugh's difficulties with Richard, and before very long a new cause of difference arose. It was the custom in mediæval times to employ the clergy very largely on political business. Embassies and such-like demanded the service of men of education, knowledge, and intelligence, qualifications which were not easily to be found in combination outside the ranks of the clergy. In this connexion it was suggested to the King that it would be useful to have ready to hand in the King's service twelve of the most capable of the Canons of Lincoln, ready at any time to serve the King wherever needed, at the Roman court, in France, or in Germany.* At Lincoln twelve men of capacity could easily be found, and, moreover, since the Church of Lincoln was so well endowed, these men could quite well serve at their own expense and so save the royal exchequer.

The plan commended itself to the King, and in due course Hugh received a communication making this demand, and enclosing twelve copies of a letter of summons which were to be delivered to the twelve Canons of the Church who should be deemed most suitable for such service. It may be added that these letters also bore the seal of the Archbishop. Hugh read the King's letter when it arrived, but made no remark except that it was time for breakfast. The clergy during the meal discussed the matter anxiously and decided among themselves that this was a case for a gentle reply and not for a definite and unequivocal refusal. Could the Archbishop be approached, they wondered, with a view to his lessening or softening the terms of this latest demand? and so on. The Canons likely to be concerned were not unnaturally alarmed and disturbed. But Hugh had no doubts and no hesitation. He declared that this was a new and unheard-of demand, and that there was no obligation on the clergy, nor ever should be, to serve the King in his political or secular business. He went on to remark that he

* *M.V.*, pp. 260 ff.

had frequently prohibited alien clerks who happened to hold benefices in his diocese from taking part in secular affairs, and if they disobeyed his prohibition he had punished them by suspending them from their benefices. If the Canons should be forced to go to court, he would also go himself and hear from the King's own lips his unjust demands, and then would take such measures to deal with the matter as should seem to him to be necessary. So Hugh dismissed the messenger, curtly telling him that he could take back with him the twelve letters that he had brought. The messenger, who was one of the King's clerks, and who had sought the bearing of the letters to magnify his own importance, was much dismayed by his cool reception and inglorious dismissal, and departed in great wrath. He could not even restrain his anger in Hugh's presence, and so far forgot himself as to indulge in threats, till Hugh cut him short and bade him depart at once.

Hugh wrote at once to the Archbishop protesting against these attempts to encroach upon the immunities of the Church to its great prejudice. He did not get much comfort from the Archbishop's answer, who wrote that he would do what he could, "saving his duty to the King." Hubert Walter was a good servant to the King, and, considering their unfriendly relations, was not likely to go out of his way to serve Hugh.

Hugh's objection to the demand seems to have been grounded on the fact that it required the permanent allocation of twelve Canons to the King's business, for at any rate it would have been used as a precedent. We have seen how Hugh had complained, on another occasion, of the way in which the King was used to claim as a right service that may once have been given voluntarily. From this point of view it would have been most dangerous to comply with this request. It is true that Churchmen did frequently serve the King in secular affairs, and such service by them was quite recognized by the Church. Indeed, the Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral so far recognized this fact that

time occupied by any Canon in the business of the Chapter or of the King was allowed to be counted as residence. Hugh himself, as we have seen, gave much time, which he grudged, to the King's service, attending his Councils and serving on occasion as his ambassador. But the permanent allocation of twelve Canons to the King's diplomatic service was quite another thing, and was quite rightly resisted.

Such, then, was Hugh's answer to the King's demand. Richard was not to be appeased, and ordered the seizure, forthwith, of the Bishop's possessions. "Did I not say to you with truth," remarked Hugh to his clerks, "that the voice of these men is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau?" * But once more the royal officers hesitated to lay hands on Hugh's property, so afraid were they of incurring his anathema. The King then proposed to send the commander of his Routiers (a band of mercenaries whom King Henry had raised in Brabant), one Machadæus by name, to enforce his orders. "These English," he said, "are too nice. Let us therefore send Machadæus. He will know how to make sport of this Burgundian." These callous and abominable words show sufficiently Richard's attitude towards his English subjects, and how little his professions of friendship for Hugh were worth in practice. However, the mercenary could not be spared, and doubtless the Bishop's people were consequently saved from much brutality.

In the end orders were given Stephen de Turnham, a trustworthy and conscientious man, and one who, as it happened, was devoted to Hugh, to seize without delay, "as he loved life and limbs," the goods of the Bishop of Lincoln in the King's name. Stephen was obliged at last to send officers to take possession of Hugh's manors and castles. It happened that while these officers were on their way to seize the manor of Sleaford, they met Hugh himself and his company on

* *M.V.*, p. 263.

the road on their way from Peterborough. Much disturbed at this uncomfortable meeting, they turned a little aside out of the way, and calling some of the Bishop's clerks, explained to them that they could not help themselves, but were obliged, owing to the King's threats, to perform this unpleasant duty, begging "like the third fifty sent by Ahab to Elijah," that the anger of the Bishop might be averted, and that the vengeance of Heaven might not fall on them. They suggested finally that Hugh should be persuaded to go to the King in person and allay his anger, promising, so far as they themselves were concerned, to take every care of the Bishop's property. The Bishop was told, and answered, "It is no part of their duty to take care of our possessions, but let them go, and deal with, and invade property which belongs not so much to us as to our Lady Mary the holy Mother of God, as they shall see." * Then he drew out the fringe of his linen stole, which he always wore, even on his journeys, under his outer garment, and shaking it, said, "This little strip shall regain for us to the last farthing all that they shall be pleased to seize." From Buckden he issued instructions to all his Archdeacons and Deans to bid the clergy of all parishes in which he held any land, and the clergy of all the neighbouring parishes, to proclaim sentence of excommunication, with all due solemnity of bell and candle, against any officer of the King who should presume to lay hand on any property of the Church. The Bishop's friends were much alarmed at Hugh's courageous action, but he himself remained calm and undisturbed as ever, and slept, as Adam noticed, as peacefully as usual, except for the fact that the Amens, which he habitually uttered when asleep, were if anything more frequent and more emphatic than usual, showing how much he was depending upon prayer to bring him relief from his difficulties.

Once more it became necessary for Hugh to set out across the sea and seek an interview with King Richard.

* *M.V.*, p. 265.

It was during his journey up to London on this occasion that, as he was passing through St. Albans, he met a procession of officers leading a thief out to his hanging.* The people following at once ran to the Bishop to ask his blessing, and the poor thief too ran up to him as best he could, with his hands tied behind his back, imploring his pity. Hugh dropped his reins on the horse's neck, and asked who the man was, and what he wanted. His attendants suggested to him that this was no affair of his, and tried to persuade him to go on, being afraid that he might interfere and so cause more trouble. But interfere he did, and bade the officers return with him to the town, and leaving their prisoner in his hands, go and tell their superiors and the judges that the Bishop had taken their prisoner. He promised the officers that they should not suffer, and they allowed him to take charge of the poor wretch whom he had freed from his bonds, and whom he committed to the charge of his almoner. When he had entered the inn, his clerks came to him and again urged him to let matters take their course. "So far," they argued, "neither the King nor anyone else who has a grudge against you has been able to find a just pretext, or anything approaching a just pretext, against you. But if you think fit to override by your pontifical authority a judgment already given by judges in court, and by them ordered to be carried into effect, it will be asserted by spiteful people that you have offended against the Crown itself, and, in other words, you will incur the accusation of high treason."

But Hugh was not to be persuaded by such arguments, and claimed that he himself was as much sanctuary as a church was. The judges concerned in the case seem to have acquiesced in this view readily enough, admitting that the old laws of England bore out Hugh's claim, though they added that such action was now obsolescent, either through the slothfulness of modern prelates or the tyranny of princes. But

* *M.V.*, p. 277.

they were anxious to be indemnified in case the King should object. "Lord Bishop, we are your sons and your parishioners, and you are our father and our shepherd. It is not therefore for us to dispute or deny your right; nor is it for you, if we may venture to say so, to do anything that will tend to our hurt. Therefore, if you free this man, we will not oppose you, but we leave it to you, if you please, to see that we shall not incur the displeasure of our Lord the King in consequence." So the thief escaped his doom, and accompanied Hugh to London, where he was set free to go where he would.

In London Hugh paid a visit to the Exchequer to ask the officials, in view of his journey abroad, to see that his Church suffered no harm during his absence. This the officials of the Exchequer promised gladly, much flattered by his visit in person and by the mildness of his words. It would seem that Hugh also visited the Archbishop to protest against the King's action. During the course of conversation the Archbishop said, "Do you not perceive, Lord Bishop, that the King's craving for money is much like the craving for water of a man suffering from dropsy?" "Well, my Lord," answered Hugh, "he may have a dropsy, but I will not be the water for him to swallow." *

It probably was at this time that the following incident occurred.† On his way to the sea, Hugh had reached Rochester, and while there a young man came to him for advice. Neither could speak the language of the other, so that the conversation had to take place through an interpreter. This young man had, he told Hugh, while quite young, committed a certain grievous sin, the nature of which is not specified, the seriousness of which was much aggravated by the circumstances under which it was committed. Rendered desperate

* *M.V.*, p. 274.

† *M.V.*, p. 157. This incident may have happened a couple of years before this time. It is not always easy to follow Adam in the order of the events which he narrates.

by the consciousness of his wrong-doing, he had gone on recklessly adding sin to sin, until quite recently, when he had happened to hear a sermon in which the preacher had enlarged upon that particular sin of which he had been guilty. The whole of the rest of that day he had been much troubled in mind, and that night he saw a vision of the Blessed Virgin, who had bidden him not despair, but to trust in the mercy of God, and go and open the whole matter to a certain priest. This he had done, and then, hating the sight of the place in which he had committed this sin, he had left his mother's house, and departed from the town in which he had been born and bred. But as he went his way, the devil had appeared to him, and suggested that suicide was the only means by which he could atone for the badness of his life. He had been haunted by this suggestion, and twice that very day had been sorely tempted to throw himself into the river and end everything, but on the first occasion had been prevented from doing so by the number of people about, doubtless pilgrims, and on the second by the arrival of Hugh himself. So he had come to Hugh to ask his assistance and guidance.

The Bishop gave him his counsel and blessing, and bade him follow him to Canterbury, where he would advise with him further. There in Canterbury, where he had to wait some fifteen days for the means of crossing the Channel, he remained penitent and devout, purposing to set out on a pilgrimage to Rome. While he was waiting thus, a horrible ulcer broke out on his body, the details of which were given to Adam by Master Reginald Pistor, the physician who attended him. When Hugh was informed of this he bade them apply wax to the sore, whereupon the ulcer at once began to heal, and soon there was nothing left but a scar. The young man, thus recovered, went on his pilgrimage, and received at Rome absolution from the Pope. He returned to England and became a Cistercian lay brother.

It was early in the year 1199 when Hugh crossed the sea to seek his audience with the King. Richard had made a truce with the French King and was at this time engaged in waging an unjust war with the Count of Engolisme. Hugh came to Normandy, where he met the Pope's legate, and stayed there for three weeks. Thence he went on to Angers, where, while waiting the King's return, he stayed at the Abbey of St. Nicholas, just outside the city. While he was there, at the request of the monks, he held an ordination in the neighbouring Abbey of Grandmont. At this ordination one of his Archdeacons, the famous Walter Map, Archdeacon of Oxford, asked him to ordain as subdeacon a young man in his household. To the amazement of everybody, Hugh refused, although the young man in question was apparently a fit candidate, and moreover was personally known to, and held in esteem by, Hugh himself. Hugh refused to give any reason for his action when pressed by the young man's friends, but when a short time afterwards he was found to be a leper, the refusal to ordain was generally ascribed to the Bishop having foreseen this terrible affliction. Considering Hugh's frequent association with lepers, it is by no means improbable that his experience may have detected suspicious symptoms in the man, and so it is not necessary to seek a miraculous foresight on his part as an explanation of his attitude on this occasion.

In the meantime every day Hugh's clergy were hearing more and more alarming stories of the dreadful way in which the King was raging against all who opposed his will, and it did not lessen their nervousness to hear that the Bishop of Lincoln and his clergy were to be singled out among those on whom he proposed to vent his heavy displeasure on account of the contempt that they had shown towards him. "Hearing such reports of the ferocity of the man," writes Adam meekly,* "the clergy were not a little afraid for themselves."

* *M.V.*, p. 281.

There were also at Angers some of the chief members of the Chapter of Hereford Cathedral, who had come, according to custom, as representatives of the Chapter, to make their election of a new Bishop in the King's Chapel. Reference has been made to this earlier in connexion with Hugh's own election. It was this election indeed to the Bishopric of Hereford which was the occasion of the presence of Walter Map, who was not only a Canon of Lincoln, and an Archdeacon in that diocese, but also a Canon of Hereford. Moreover, Walter was himself the Canons' choice as Bishop, and now he began to fear that the presence of the Bishop of Lincoln, at a moment when the King was much inflamed against him, might militate against his chances of the bishopric, inasmuch as he was one of Hugh's clergy as Canon of Lincoln. The two groups of Canons, therefore, took common counsel as to what should be done under the circumstances, and they called in to their assistance the Dean and Precentor of Angers. As the result of their deliberations, they approached Hugh and urged him "to redeem the time since the days were evil" by sending to the King and promising him a sum of money. Hugh listened to them till he was weary, and then told them to cease. "Let this be sufficient, my brethren, for the moment. To-morrow morning we will agree on some good course to take, under the guidance of the Lord, which He will know how to make redound to the greater glory of His Name. For night brings its counsels, as we have often learned from experience."

The Bishop sat meditating after their departure, and complained that he had never been so tired in so short a time, and sought by prayer to find some way out of his difficulties by which he might not offend God, and at the same time might not seem to neglect the interests of his good friend. At last, wearied out, he betook himself to bed, and that night in his sleep he heard a voice as from heaven, saying, "O God, wonderful art Thou in Thy holy places: even the God

of Israel; He will give strength and power unto His people; blessed be God" (Ps. lxviii. 35). When he arose in the morning he made his confession, as he did every Saturday, particularly blaming himself for his worry and anxiety of the previous day.

But Hugh's difficulties, so far as King Richard was concerned, were now at an end. Shortly after this the Abbess of Fontevrault came to him, and told him privately that the King had been wounded, and lay between life and death. Adam says that so far as he could ascertain the King was wounded on that very day, Friday, March 26, 1199, on which Hugh had suffered so much. In the meantime the Dean and Canons of Angers had asked Hugh to pontificate in their cathedral on Palm Sunday, since their own Bishop had not yet returned from Rome, whither he had gone for his consecration. On his way into Angers on the Saturday before Palm Sunday he was met by Gilbert de Laci with the news that the King was dead, and was to be buried next day at Fontevrault. Hugh, full of grief, promised to be present at the funeral, in spite of the dissuasions of his clergy; for the moment that it was known that the King was dead, the whole country had fallen into a state of anarchy and lawlessness. No one was safe on the roads, and the messenger on his way to Hugh bringing money from England for his expenses was robbed, and the clerks urged that even a bishop would not be safe.

But Hugh would hear nothing of these timorous arguments. "It is sufficiently clear to me," he said, "what great dangers in connexion with this journey can present themselves to minds that are fearful, but it seems to me a much more fearful thing that I should seem to absent myself like a coward on such an occasion, and not show that loyalty and affection for the King, now he is dead, which I always sincerely showed towards him in his lifetime. What of it if he did harass us through not being sufficiently aware of the malignity and flattery of his counsellors? It is certain

that he never received me personally save with the greatest honour, nor did he ever dismiss me from his presence without listening to me whenever I approached him in my own person on any of my affairs. Whatever he may have done to my hurt in my absence should be ascribed to the malice of my detractors, and not to any wickedness or ill-feeling of his own. So I will repay him, as far as in me lies, for the honour which he has so often rendered me, nor shall it be any fault of mine if I do not assist with devotion at his funeral. If robbers meet me on the way, though they should take away my horses or deprive me of my raiment, my feet will carry me the quicker in that we shall be the lighter without our baggage. If indeed my feet should be cut off, and I be deprived of the ability to walk, then only will my personal absence be excusable, in that it will be caused not by any failure on my part, but though the hindrances set in my way by others." *

Hugh's feelings on the death of Richard show the true nobility of his character. At this time when he was suffering from Richard's persecution more than he had ever done before, he is above the petty memory of grievances suggested by his clerks, and insisted on going, in spite of personal danger, to show his last respect to the King, whom, in spite of all his failings and unjust treatment of himself, he had loved and honoured. He set out for Fontevrault with a small company, leaving behind him the greater part of his clergy and nearly all his belongings, and taking with him one only "of the least of the clergy" (doubtless Adam himself) and one monk. When he heard that Queen Berengaria was staying at Beaufort Castle, he turned aside to visit her, having to leave the high-road and travel by by-roads through lonely forests. He spoke to her words of comfort and consolation on the death of her husband, and celebrated Mass there, giving her his solemn blessing on his departure. Arriving at Saumur, he

* *M.V.*, p. 285.

was joyfully received by the citizens, and stayed with Gilbert de Laci at his earnest request. The next morning he reached Fontevrault, just in time to meet at the door of the abbey church the funeral procession, and there, after the solemn and magnificent funeral, he stayed for three days, saying Masses and reciting the Office of the Dead for the Kings there buried, and for all the faithful departed.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XI

The Release from the Payment of the Mantle

De exigencia mantelli.

Ricardus dei gratia Rex Anglie . Dux Normannie . Aquitanie . Comes Andegauie . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus , Baronibus . Iusticiariis . vice comitibus . Balliuis . & omnibus fidelibus tocius terre sue salutem. Sciatis nos pro amore dei & beate marie semper virginis matris eius . & pro salute nostra et antecessorum & successorum nostrorum remisisse in puram & perpetuam elemosinam deo & beate marie et ecclesie Lincolnie imperpetuum exigentiam mantelli quam feceramus de episcopo Lincolnie . & quam dominus Rex Henricus pater noster & predecessores sui de predicta ecclesia Lincolnie fecerant . eandem ecclesiam in perpetuum de predicta exigentia mantelli de nobis & heredibus nostris presenti Carta nostra quietam clamamus. Quare uolumus & firmiter precipimus quod predicta ecclesia Lincolnie imperpetuum sit quieta de predicto mantello de nobis & heredibus nostris. Si quis autem successorum nostrorum hanc nostram elemosinam & quietantiam infringere presumpserit . indignationem & maledictionem omnipotentis dei & gloriose uirginis marie matris eius incurrat . donec resipiscat . & a sua temeritate desistat. Testibus hiis Iohanne comite morit . fratre nostro . Willelmo marescallo . Comiti Willelmo Sarisbir . Ricardo comite de clara . Magistro philippo Archidiacono Cantuar . Radulfo

foliot Archidiacono Hereforden . Bochardo Thesaurario eboracen . & allis multis. Datum per manum magistri eustachii Decani Saresbir . uicem agentis Cancellarii nostri apud cenomann . xxiii . die Iunij . anno . v . Regni nostri.

(*Linc. Registrum antiquissimum*, ff. 27, 27*b*.)

THE BURIAL OF ST. HUGH IN THE WINDOW OF THE NORTH GREAT TRANSEPT, LINCOLN, SHOWING THE BIER CARRIED BY THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, DUBLIN, AND RAGUSA, AND KING JOHN OF ENGLAND, KING WILLIAM OF SCOTLAND, AND ROLAND PRINCE OF GALLOWAY.

From Westlake's "Stained Glass," by kind permission. *See p.* 161.

CHAPTER XII

KING JOHN

At the time of Richard's death his brother John, whom a short time before his death he had deprived of all his possessions on discovering that he was in conspiracy against him with the French King, was in Brittany with his nephew Arthur, that same Arthur whom he afterwards foully did to death. On hearing of his brother Richard's death, John came at once to Chinon, where, on the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, April 14, 1199, he was received as King by certain of the nobles of England, then at Chinon. There, too, he took the solemn Accession Oath, that he would faithfully execute his brother's will, and that he would maintain inviolate the lawful custom of his predecessors, and the rightful laws of the peoples and countries over whom he was to rule. Hearing of Hugh's presence, he sent for him, and met him with much apparent joy. The Bishop was making his preparations for returning home, but King John, who showed him great honour, urged him to remain and return with him to England. This Hugh was not willing to do, but he accompanied him on a visit to Fontevrault, where both the King's father and brother lay buried. John, being a layman, was not allowed by the rules of the Order inside the house, as no layman was allowed to enter except in the presence of the Abbess, and she was away at this time. He asked Hugh, therefore, to request the prayers of the Convent on his behalf, and to inform the inmates that it was his

intention to make them rich gifts. Hugh, however, knew John, and said to him quite plainly, "You know how much I hate lying, so I must be careful not to make any promises in your name, unless I can be sure that they will be carried out by you for certain." * So Hugh insisted on telling the Nuns of John's promises in his presence.

On this occasion John was very loud in his professions of his good resolves, telling the Bishop that he felt towards him as a son to a father. At the same time he revealed to Hugh his superstition, showing him an amulet which he wore round his neck containing some special stone, which he said had been given to one of his ancestors with the promise that so long as he retained it none of the wearer's possessions should be lost. Hugh at once rebuked him for his childish superstition, bidding him rather put his trust in the "living and true heavenly stone, Jesus Christ." In the porch of the church there was a representation, as was very common in those times, of the Last Judgement, with the righteous depicted on one side and the wicked on the other. Hugh took occasion from this text to admonish John, and to exhort him to decency of living. John listened to him with pious demeanour, and then, taking the Bishop by the hand, led him to the opposite wall, where were represented Kings in their royal robes being led by angels into the joys of heaven. "You should rather, Lord Bishop," he said, "have shown me these, for it is my desire and purpose to follow their examples and to attain their fellowship." Such sickening hypocrisy is almost inconceivable, and Adam cannot forbear, writing this Life in the year 1212, from contrasting John's promises on this occasion with the actual condition of things at the time of writing.

For the next six days John maintained this pose, behaving outwardly with specious piety, graciously thanking beggars by the roadside when they prayed

* *M.V.*, p. 288.

Photo. S. Smith, Lincoln.

THE LAST JUDGEMENT.

FROM THE WEST FRONT, LINCOLN.

(facing p. 142).

for his prosperity, and even politely saluting old women when they made their reverences to him, to the immense surprise and joy of those who witnessed his behaviour, for it was not at all in keeping with his ordinary conduct. But John was only acting, and could not keep it up very long. At the end of this time he began to revert to his usual ways, and to grieve not only the Bishop but all the decent folk by his conduct.

On Easter Day, April 18, at the Mass John received from his chamberlain, as was customary, twelve gold marcs to make his offering. When he was given the money he behaved in the strangest fashion, as he stood there before the Bishop with his courtiers about him, staring at the coins, and jingling them in his hands, and put off making the offering so long that all who were present gazed at him in amazement. At length the Bishop, who was as surprised as any at such curious conduct at such an hour and place, asked him, "Why are you looking at the money in that way?" John answered, "As a matter of fact I am looking at these coins and thinking to myself that if I had only possessed them a very few days ago, I should not have offered them to you, but should have put them in my purse; however, take them now." Red with shame and anger the Bishop refused to take the money himself, nor suffer John to kiss his hand, but bade him cast the offering into the bowl used for the purpose, and retire. Adam here takes the opportunity to remark that, when officiating at any church not in his own diocese, Hugh would never take any of the offerings nor allow his clerks to do so, but always left them for the benefit of the particular church in which they were made. On this same day Hugh preached a sermon to the great edification of all present except the King, who approved of neither the matter of the sermon nor its length, and sent to Hugh three times bidding him bring his discourse to an end, and proceed with the service, as he was hungry.

It was remarked that John did not make his Com-

munion on this day, nor did he at his Coronation on the Ascension Day following. Adam tells us, on the authority of members of John's household, that he had never made his Communion since he was grown up. On April 25, the Sunday after Easter, John was solemnly invested as Duke of Normandy at Rouen. As part of the ceremonial observed on the occasion the new Duke had put into his hands the banner of the duchy, but at the moment was laughing and joking over his shoulder in a most unseemly manner with his foolish companions, and let the banner fall. This was regarded as a very ominous event, and was remembered when later on he lost the duchy to the French King.

Hugh had bidden the King farewell on Easter Monday to return home. On his journey he stopped at the town of La Flèche and entered the church there to say Mass. While he was putting on his vestments, his servants ran in to him in a state of great excitement to tell him that his horses and carts had been seized by the local authorities, and moreover some of his pack-horses had been carried off by robbers. His clerks, together with Gilbert Bishop of Rochester, who was with him, begged him, considering the urgency of the matter, to give up the idea of saying Mass, and content himself with reading the Gospel for the day, that he might come and attend at once to the matter. Not only did Hugh refuse to be moved from his purpose, but actually insisted on celebrating a pontifical Mass, fully vested, and inserting, we are told, the pontifical benediction, a benediction which, according to the English and French uses, was given after the fraction by a bishop when celebrating pontifically. While he was unvesting, the magistrates of the place hastened in to him full of apologies, assuring him of their humble obedience if he would deign to stay the night in their town, and offering, if he should desire to proceed at once, to provide him with guides to a safer locality. Hugh received them very pleas-

antly and accepted gladly their offer of a guide to the Abbey of St. Peter near Le Mans.

But alarms and disturbances were not yet at an end, for the very next morning, while the Bishop was at Matins, a sudden uproar and tumult arose in the town. The occasion of this was an attempt made to surprise the place by the Countess of Brittany and her son Arthur, in the hopes of gaining possession of the person of King John. The King had arrived at Le Mans the night before, but, having received some information of the attempt that was to be made on the town, left secretly before dawn, and so had a very narrow escape. When the tumult arose, one of Hugh's chaplains, Girard by name, advised that the lessons should be curtailed and the Office hastily finished, and that they should leave the town, now full of disorderly soldiery, as soon as possible, and overtake the other members of the company who had already departed. Hugh, however, insisted on finishing the Office in its completeness, and was afterwards conducted out of the town safely by the Abbot of Le Mans, while others of his clerks who had set out before him were caught and detained. As it was, he had to leave behind him with the Abbot some of his horses and two carts of baggage, but the Countess, who arrived the following day, sent them on after him, commending herself and her son to his prayers. Hugh resumed his journey towards Sees, but turned aside with a few companions, leaving the rest to go on, in order that he might pay a visit to the Abbot of Persigny, of whose learning and devout life he had heard much, and whom he greatly desired to know personally. But the Abbot was away, and so after celebrating Mass there he resumed his journey.

At last after all these excitements he arrived safely in England, and set out for Lincoln, where he was welcomed back with the greatest enthusiasm, being met by crowds of people of all conditions with the

episcopal greeting, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

A year later, in May 1200, Hugh again crossed the sea at John's request, that he might be present at the settlement of terms of peace between the English and French Kings. This seemed to offer him an opportunity of carrying out a project that had been long in his mind, of visiting once more the Grande Chartreuse. He was growing very weary and worn out, and much desired to be permitted to lay down the burden of the episcopal office.* More than once he had petitioned the Pope to be allowed to resign his bishopric, but his request had on each occasion been refused firmly and indignantly. What weighed chiefly on Hugh and made his life so laborious was, we are told, the time and labour he had to spend on cases referred to him as Judge Delegate by the Supreme Pontiff, in which capacity he was much employed. But by now his strenuous and unsparing life was reacting on the physical effects of his austerities seriously, and his breakdown was not far off.

When the King's business was finished, having received permission from the King and the Archbishop, Hugh left Roche d'Andeli on the last day of May, the Wednesday in Whit Week, and set off towards Burgundy.† This last journey of his was a sort of pilgrimage to holy places. At this time of year, Adam reminds us, when men were beginning to be busy with the gathering in of harvest, it had always been Hugh's custom to retire to Witham and undertake the harvesting, as it were, of his own soul, and so to return once more to the sowing and springtime of his Church.

The first halt on this pilgrimage of his was at Meulan, where were the relics of St. Nicasius, at whose shrine Hugh made his offerings, obtaining to his great joy, and being allowed to take with his own fingers, a little piece of the saint's skull. He tried at

* *M.V.*, p. 298. † *M.V.*, pp. 302 ff.

the same time to obtain one of the saint's teeth, but they were all too firmly fixed for him to extract.

From Meulan he passed on to Paris, where he stayed for some time at the Abbey of St. Denys near the city, seeing all the sacred sights and making his devotions there. On his departure from the abbey he was met by an enthusiastic crowd of scholars of the great University, who gave him the warmest possible welcome. In Paris he was the guest of a kinsman of his own, Reimund, one who enjoyed a high reputation, and on whom he had bestowed a Canonry of Lincoln and the Archdeaconry of Leicester. Of Reimund Adam says that he showed himself to be of no degenerate blood, and that he strove to attain something of his saintly kinsman's freedom of spirit. He goes on to tell how later on, during the time of the interdict when ecclesiastics were allowed to recover their possessions from the King by payments of money, Reimund would have nothing to do with such methods, preferring exile, during which he was able to help many of his fellow-exiles, among whom he entertained Adam himself with great hospitality.

While at Paris Hugh received a visit from the young Dauphin, who had lately married Blanche, the daughter of John's sister Eleanor, the Queen of Alphonso of Castile. This union was one of the articles of the peace arranged between the Kings of England and France. Among other visitors was young Arthur of Brittany, the King's ill-fated nephew, who was now in his fourteenth year. While the Dauphin listened to the Bishop's admonitions with the greatest possible respect, Arthur, who seems to have been an ill-conditioned youth, was rude and insolent in the extreme when Hugh exhorted him to remain on terms of love and peace with his uncle John. Louis asked Hugh to visit his lately wedded wife, and he came on foot to the palace to pay his visit. The young bride was very miserable and depressed in the strange land to which her fate had brought her,

but Hugh by his cheerfulness quite restored her to a happy and contented state of mind.

From Paris Hugh proceeded to Troyes. Here there came to him one who had fled from a sentence of excommunication which Hugh himself had pronounced against him. This man had been a bailiff to the Earl of Leicester. A villein of Brackley who had committed a theft had fled into the church seeking sanctuary, but the lord of the manor, trusting to his high family connexions to free him from the consequences of his high-handed act, had him forcibly haled out of sanctuary and hanged. This bailiff was one of the men concerned in the outrage. Hugh had been abroad at the time, but when on his return he had been informed of what had taken place, he at once excommunicated all who had been involved in the affair. The penance which he laid upon them was very severe. All those who had taken part in the hanging, and all who had been personally involved in the breaking of sanctuary, were to go, clad only in a pair of drawers, dig up the body of the unfortunate man, by this time of course in an advanced stage of decomposition, and carry it on a bier from the place of execution to the town, a distance of nearly a mile. At the porch of each church in the place they were to submit to a scourging at the hands of the clergy of the deanery, and finally were to bury the body in the cemetery of the church from which they had taken him. This bailiff, rather than undergo such indignity, had fled the realm. But from that time onward, he declared, he had had no peace, and after being followed by all sorts of troubles and miseries, had at last been dismissed from the service of the lord at whose bidding he had committed the crime. So he came now to Hugh begging for reconciliation and restoration, and cheerfully accepted the seven years' penance which Hugh laid upon him.

On his way to Troyes from Paris, staying for a short time at the village of Joi (Jouay le Chatel?),

Hugh sent, according to his wont on such occasions, to invite the parish priest to dinner with him.* The priest would not come to dinner, but paid him a visit afterwards, when he told him this story of a miraculous Sacrament. He told how that when a young priest, and not very devout and serious, he had celebrated Mass one day in a state of mortal sin, and that at the moment of consecration the evil doubt had come into his head, "How can this Body and Blood of Him Who is described as the brightness of the Eternal Splendour and the Mirror without spot be confected and handled, and received by a foul sinner like myself?" And then when he broke the Host, It bled. He dared not receive this miraculous Host, and put it aside, and there it was in the church to this day, and he invited Hugh to come and see the marvel. His companions desired eagerly to go, but Hugh refused to stir. "Well and good," he said. "In the name of the Lord let them keep for themselves the evidences of their unbelief. What has it to do with us? Are we to marvel at one particular aspect of this divine service, when every day we gaze with perfect faith on this heavenly sacrifice in its entirety?" So he dismissed the priest with his blessing, and rebuked his attendants for their curiosity.

On leaving Troyes, Hugh paid a visit to the Abbey of St. Anthony, near Vienne, where were preserved the relics of the saint. This meant a three-days' diversion from their journey to the Chartreuse. The abbey enjoyed a great reputation for the many cures wrought by the relics on those who suffered from the affliction known as St. Anthony's fire, in other words erysipelas. Adam asserts that while there they were themselves witnesses of many healings effected on old men, young lads, and maidens, and waxes enthusiastic on the subject, giving a history of the wanderings of the relics until they found a home in this abbey.

* *M.V.*, p. 242.

From St. Anthony's, Hugh's next stage was to Grenoble, where he was met by the Bishop and a crowd of citizens outside the city, and by them solemnly conducted with joyful chants to the cathedral church of St. John the Baptist. The very day of Hugh's arrival happened to be the Feast of the Nativity of St. John, who, next to the Blessed Virgin, was the special patron of the Carthusian Order and of Hugh himself. He celebrated Mass, and after the Gospel preached to the people, who listened to him with great devotion. On the same day he baptized the seven-year-old child of his eldest brother Sir William d'Avalon, the Bishop of Grenoble standing as god-father. The latter wished the child to receive his own name, Peter, but Hugh was able successfully to insist that both the day and the place required the name of John. This is a curious example of extreme neglect in the matter of Baptism, in postponing it till the child was seven years old. Adam tells us that this child was very quick and ready, and that he himself taught him his letters, spreading them out on the altar of St. John in the church of Bellay.

The next morning, June 25, Hugh set out for the Chartreuse. The road was very rough and hilly, and the company was forced to make the greater part of the journey on foot, Hugh showing a wonderful activity. On reaching the Chartreuse, Hugh remained there for three whole weeks, living in a cell by himself as one of the brethren, and never absenting himself from any of the choir offices. The poor folk in the neighbouring parish were much rejoiced to see him again, and there were many affecting scenes. He was very happy among them, and gave great satisfaction by the graciousness of his words and by his liberality. He spent some days in the lower house where the *conversi,* or lay brethren, dwelt, and for whose well-being he himself had in the old days been responsible as Procurator, and during these days set apart certain hours every day for receiving the poor who flocked

to see him, and to whom he talked and demeaned himself as a simple monk.

During his stay Hugh was able to settle a long-standing quarrel between the Bishop and the Count of Geneva. The Bishop of Geneva was at that time visiting the Chartreuse, and told Hugh the story of the quarrel that had lasted for twelve years between himself and the Count, and how that for fifteen years he had not been permitted to enter his own cathedral church. Hugh undertook to mediate between them, and sent two Carthusian Priors to the Count to warn him of the danger of living and dying under an anathema, and to exhort him to be reconciled to the Bishop. The Count did not at the time listen to the messengers kindly, but on their departure from his court he came to a better state of mind, and the reconciliation was effected.

At last the time came for bidding farewell to the Chartreuse. Before leaving, Hugh bestowed upon the House a gift on which he set a very high value. Reference has been made to the silver casket filled with the relics of saints both men and women, and which he was wont to carry about with him. These relics had been collected by himself, and by Adam "his monk and chaplain" on his behalf. These he now divided into two parts, giving those which he himself had gathered together to the Sacrist of the Chartreuse, to be preserved there, and returning to Adam those which the latter had collected, to be bestowed on his own monastic home of Eynsham.

On leaving the Chartreuse he paid a visit to the priory of St. Domninus at the earnest request of the Prior, and spent one day there, planning to revisit his first monastic home of Villar-Benoit, taking his paternal home of Avalon on the way. At Avalon he found his two brothers William and Peter, and an assembly of all classes who had gathered together to do him honour, and there he stayed for two days. At Villar-Benoit he was received with immense

enthusiasm, and went to see again the cell of St. Maximin, the scene of his early labours, and here many of the folk, now old men and women, white-haired and bent, remembered him, and declared how they had always known that he would become a very holy man. He returned from Villar-Benoit to Avalon, where he spent one more night.

And now it was time for him to set out on his return journey to England. Arriving at Bellay, he beheld with great veneration the famous relic that was there, a portion of the hand of his patron, St. John the Baptist. Resuming his journey, he visited on the way Arveria, Lovinium, and Vallis Sancti Petri, all Carthusian Houses. He made a special point of visiting Arveria, though it was off the direct route of his journey, because the Prior of the house, Artholdus, who had been Bishop of Bellay 1184–90, had laid down his episcopal charge to become a simple monk again, and Hugh's desire to do the same moved him to take counsel with him on the subject. The Prior had still some slight vestige, however, of worldliness left in him, for he inquired eagerly of Hugh as to the terms of the peace arranged between England and France, and was at once rebuked by Hugh for asking about worldly news in the presence of his monks, whose minds should be kept free from all such matters. We are told nothing as to the results of Hugh's consultation with him on the question of resigning his bishopric.

Adam passes quickly over the rest of the journey. Hugh visited Cluny and celebrated Mass there. He was immensely impressed with the discipline of the Order, so much as to say, "Indeed, had I seen this place as I do now before I had acquired my great love for the Chartreuse, Cluny would have made me one of its own monks." * He noticed in particular a rule of St. Benedict, in vogue still at Cluny, but no

* *M.V.*, p. 323.

longer observed elsewhere. It was one that St. Benedict had enjoined in connexion with the reception of guests. "Let the Divine Law be read in the presence of the guest, that he may be edified; and then let all hospitality be shown to him." Accordingly, when Hugh had been solemnly received in procession at Cluny, and had given his blessing, he was led by the Prior, accompanied by the twelve senior brethren, into the parlour, where he was given a seat with the monks around him, while one of them read slowly and distinctly a chapter of St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. *Benedicite* followed, and then conversation was permitted.

Hugh also visited Citeaux, turning aside thither that he might celebrate Mass on the Feast of the Assumption, for all France was under an interdict with the exception of certain privileged Houses. He also paid a visit to Clairvaux on the pressing invitation of John, formerly Archbishop of Lyons, who had retired thither in his old age. Thence he travelled to the abbey of St. Rémi, near Rheims, where he much admired the fine library, and where he gazed with reverence on the vessel containing the miraculous chrism with which the Kings of France were anointed at their coronation, and here he stayed for two days. His next stage was St. Omers, where he decided to rest for a short time owing to his great weariness. Near by was the Cistercian abbey of Clermaretz, where he proposed to celebrate Mass on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8). On the day on which he reached St. Omers, as he had been very unwell for several days, he was bled, but this treatment made him much worse, and he was hardly able to touch food for three days afterwards. None the less he went to Clermaretz on the Eve of the Nativity of Our Lady, and, passing the night in the infirmary under the charge of two of the brethren, was able on the Day to celebrate the last but one of the Masses.

A strange event is related by Adam as having taken

place during their stay at St. Omers.* A baker baked bread on Sunday. As he drew it out of the oven, one of the loaves fell and broke, and blood flowed from it. In terror he broke another, and the same thing happened, and so it was found to be with all the loaves. Adam says that one of these loaves was brought to Hugh, and broken in his presence, when the same phenomenon took place. There were baked at the same time unleavened breads for sacred purposes, but these were normal, only the ordinary bread being affected. This strange happening was regarded as a judgment on the baker for his cupidity, and for his breach of the observance of the Lord's Day.

From St. Omers Hugh proceeded to Wissant on September 9, and on the next day embarked for England.

* *M.V.*, p. 327.

CHAPTER XIII

DEATH OF HUGH

On September 10 Hugh embarked for England and reached Dover after a quick and easy passage. On leaving the ship, he forthwith celebrated Mass. On the following day he arrived at Canterbury, where he made his devotions at the shrine of St. Thomas. Here he stayed at Christ Church, where visits were paid to him by the King's Justiciars and by many nobles. But he was now very ill, and his eyesight began to fail him seriously. For some reason or other he would take no remedies. While at Canterbury he became decidedly worse, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was able to travel on to London. He reached London on September 18, and took up his abode at the Old Temple, the London house of the Bishops of Lincoln. On his arrival he was forced to take to his bed at once, and it became obvious that he was very seriously ill, and, moreover, he showed no desire to recover. He told Adam the next day that he had no wish, as his friends had, for his life to be prolonged, for he saw many evils ahead for the Church of England (*Ecclesia Anglicana*). He prepared, though indeed he was always prepared, for his end, and on St. Matthew's Day, the anniversary of his consecration as Bishop, he made his confession, was anointed with the unction of the sick, and made his Communion. He was then urged to make his will, and agreed to do so for the sake of his see; and after making his will, called for his stole and laid a solemn anathema on any who should in any way oppose the carrying out of his last wishes.

For two months he lay ill in bed. Almost daily he made his confession, and insisted upon the daily offices being recited in full by his bedside, however ill he might be, joining in them himself, and rebuking his chaplains if ever they appeared negligent or hurried. He had always been very strict in saying his offices, and never omitting the Office of Our Lady on Saturdays; and even when sitting as Judge, or when present at great meetings of Barons, he would always withdraw to say an office at the proper time.

King John visited him in his sickness, and apparently intended to be kind and sympathetic, but Hugh was by this time very weak, unable even to sit up, and answered hardly a word to the King's condolences. Another visitor was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, who suggested that it would not be out of place for him, in his present condition, to express his regret for the undutiful attitude that he had so often taken up towards his Metropolitan, and to ask his pardon for the many provocations that he had given him. This at least had the power to rouse him, and the dying Bishop answered Hubert vigorously enough, telling him that, far from asking his pardon, he felt that he ought to have provoked him more often than he had done, considering the circumstances, and assuring him that if his life should be spared, he should most certainly do so in the future. Hubert and Hugh had always been antipathetic, and it is clear that Hugh's opinion of the worldly Archbishop was very bad.

Fifteen days before he died he sent for Geoffrey de Noiers, the architect of his glorious new cathedral, to receive his report on the progress of the work, and to give him his last instructions. The King and Barons were shortly to meet at Lincoln, and Hugh was anxious that the chapel of St. John the Baptist should be ready for dedication by that date. He had arranged for Gilbert Bishop of Rochester to perform the dedication, and he bade his clerks and the Canons

who were with him not to delay in going to Lincoln in readiness for the arrival of the King and prelates on St. Edmund's Day, telling some of them, when they expressed unwillingness to leave him in such condition, that he himself would be present in Lincoln on that day. He had much hoped himself to perform the dedication ceremony of this chapel, but since God had willed otherwise, he was anxious that it should take place with as little delay as possible.

He was all this time growing weaker, worn out by dysentery, and now began to think of the details of his end. He gave instructions that when he was in his last extremity he was to be laid with arms outstretched on a cross of ashes on the floor, in accordance with the Carthusian custom. During the whole of his illness he was clothed in hair shirt, tunic, and cowl. The hair shirt he only changed once or twice, and would not hear of discarding it, in spite of the pleadings of his attendants, although the Carthusian Rule expressly excuses the sick from wearing it. He further instructed Adam that, since at the time of his death all the Bishops and Abbots would be at Lincoln, he was to send for seven or eight monks from Westminster, and to ask the Dean of St. Paul's to send some of his clerks to recite the Commendations. His body was to be washed under the direction of Father Peter, his *conversus,* and vested in full pontificals, and he was to be buried near the altar of St. John the Baptist in the cathedral church. His body on its arrival at Lincoln was to be arrayed in the episcopal vestments which he had worn at his consecration, and a ring of gold set with a sapphire, which he habitually wore, but which was not of such value as to be likely to attract robbers, was to be buried with him. He gave further details as to the place of his burial. "Before the altar of my patron of whom I have so often spoken, the Lord's forerunner, where there seems to be a convenient spot you shall lay me; against a wall, lest my tomb should take

up space on the floor of the chapel, as one so often sees in churches, and be an obstruction to those that enter." *

At times during his illness he suffered much, and on such occasions would ejaculate, "O kind God, give me rest; Good Lord, my God, grant me rest." Once at this time, Adam, who attended to him devotedly, said to him gently, "Now, my Lord, you have rest. I can tell from your pulse that this attack of pain has passed"; and he answered, "Oh, blessed indeed are they on whom the day of the last judgment shall bestow untroubled rest." Adam rejoined, "That day of judgment you will meet when you lay down the burden of this flesh." Hugh answered him at once, "You have not the right idea of it. It is a day not of judgment, but of pardon and mercy that I shall experience."

His fortitude and courageousness in his sufferings impressed all who witnessed them, even the physicians. His voice remained strong and vigorous up to the end, and on the very day before his death he himself stopped the reading of the Martilogium at the point where it should be resumed next day. The passage in question contained these words, "Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died."

During his illness Hugh showed all reasonableness and submitted to the exhortation of the brethren of Witham that he should eat meat, for the Archbishop had dispensed him with the Rule of his Order in this matter. So he took pigs' feet and small birds.

On Thursday, the evening of November 16, he felt his strength going from him, and sent for the monks of Westminster and the clerks from St. Paul's. He gave his blessing to Adam with much difficulty, and the cross of ashes was prepared in accordance with his instructions, he himself blessing the ashes. Compline was now begun, this being the hour

* *M.V.*, p. 340.

for the Office, and as the clerks read the words of the Psalm (xci. 15), "He shall call upon Me, and I shall hear him: yea, I am with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and bring him to honour," he made a sign to them and was laid on the cross of ashes; and just as the *Nunc dimittis* was begun, peacefully breathed his last breath.

Immediately after his death the Commendation was said. The body was washed and arrayed in pontifical vestments, and was then removed to a church, the name of which is not given, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, the Offices of the Dead were said throughout the night. The next day, after Mass, the body was embalmed, the viscera being buried in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Old Temple, under a marble slab close to the altar.

Directly the body was embalmed, the journey to Lincoln was begun, the bier being accompanied out of London by a sorrowing multitude. The torches, of which there were four carried by boys on horses, were never once, according to Adam, extinguished, nor did they even gutter, getting down from and mounting horses having no effect on them—a marvellous fact which Adam ascribes to St. Hugh's generosity in maintaining the lights at Lincoln. But the writer of the *Metrical Life* makes the more moderate statement that though the torches were sometimes put out by the wind, it was always possible to rekindle them from each other.

On Sunday, November 19, the cortège arrived at Biggleswade, one of the Bishop's manors, and here a miracle took place. The crush of people pressing in through the doors of the church after the body had been laid within was so great, that a man named Bernard had his arm broken. He was carried home, and after suffering much pain fell asleep. In his sleep he dreamed that Hugh came to him and stroked the injured arm, and blessed him, and so departed, leaving him healed. When he awoke in the morning, he found

that it was even as he had dreamed, and that his arm was sound and healed.

On Tuesday, November 21, Stamford was reached. and there the body was met by a number of nuns from the convent hard by, and by a crowd of citizens. Here, too, a strange event took place. A pious shoemaker, unable to get near the body for the crowd about it, prayed that he might but be allowed to lay himself under the bier, and so depart from this world. At last he was able to attain his object, and, after much pushing and clamouring, was able to creep beneath the bier, where he laid himself down, praying God to take his soul that night. The bier was carried into the church, and the cobbler returned to his house, which was close at hand. Almost at once his neighbours came running to the parish priest for the Viaticum. The priest found him *in extremis,* and heard his confession and made his will, the cobbler dying that very night as he had prayed. At Stamford we are told that horn lanterns were procured for the candles, which with their drippings fouled the clothes of those who carried them, in recording which Adam seems to have forgotten what he had said previously.

The body at length reached Lincoln on Thursday, November 23; the previous stages having been: Hertford, Saturday the 18th; Biggleswade, Sunday the 19th; Buckden, Monday the 20th; Stamford, Tuesday the 21st; Ancaster, Wednesday the 22nd; and finally Lincoln, Thursday the 23rd.

Outside the city at the bottom of the hill, about a mile away, the funeral procession was met by a great company, among whom were John King of England, Roland Prince of Galloway, and, according to most authorities, William King of Scotland. Hoveden indeed states that William had set out for Scotland early that same morning, but Adam expressly notes the grief of the Scottish King on meeting Hugh's body, and under the circumstances it does not seem likely that Adam could have been mistaken. Gerald, too,

who was like to be well informed, states that William was present. There were also present Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, John Archbishop of Dublin, Bernard Archbishop of Ragusa, many Bishops, Earls, and Barons; Abbots and Priors without number, and a vast confluence of other folk. As a Carthusian monk he would have been borne to the grave by twelve brethren, so now he was borne by twelve brother Bishops, the King of England and great nobles taking part also as bearers. Twelve marcs of silver were offered for the bearers, and innumerable offerings of rings, necklaces, and bezants were made by others. There was much eagerness shown to have a share in the bearing, or at least to get near enough to touch the body. It was noticed that the Jews, of whom there was a large colony at Lincoln, gave many signs of their sorrow at the death of a Bishop who had always treated them with consideration.

And so, with all the bells in the city tolling, the body was brought with hymns and chants into the great church. Thence it was removed for a time, to be arrayed, according to Hugh's instructions, in the vestments in which he had been consecrated; and while this was being done, the whiteness of his body was remarked upon. The hands and feet were anointed with balsam, and when the body had been vested in his pontificals, it was brought and laid in the choir before the high altar. As it lay there it was visited by a host of people carrying candles in their hands, who kissed his hands and feet, and made offerings of gold and silver and precious stones, amounting in value to more than forty marcs. At this time a rosy hue had come over the face, as the Dean pointed out to Adam.

Three miracles took place as Hugh's body lay there in state. A woman,* who was said to have been blind for some years, on touching the body recovered her sight. Adam at first had his doubts about this

* *M.V.*, p. 375.

miracle, not knowing anything of the woman in question, but on inquiry was satisfied that the case was genuine and true. A knight * of Lindsey, who had had a cancerous sore in his left arm, asked that the sign of the cross might be made over the place with Hugh's right hand. This was allowed, and ultimately the sore was healed, Roger Dean of Lincoln publicly proclaiming the miracle. The third † was in connexion with a cutpurse who, taking advantage of the crowd pressing round the bier, robbed a certain matron of her purse, and was at once struck blind and helpless. On his confessing what he had done, the woman who had been robbed came forward, and on her purse being restored to her the thief at once recovered his sight. Roger Hoveden adorns this miracle with incredible details.

One John of Leicester wrote at this time a distich, and laid it at Hugh's feet:

> Pontificum baculus, monachorum norma, scholarum
> Consultor, regum malleus Hugo fuit.

The next day (Friday, November 24) Hugh's body was laid in its grave. On the way to it people in the crowd cut small portions from his vestments as relics. He was buried, as he had desired, by a wall near the altar in the chapel of St. John Baptist, which was situated on the north side of the church. The chapel had just been dedicated, and King John himself had bestowed on it a golden chalice.

On the occasion of Hugh's funeral King John was, we are told, touched with compunction, and as the result of this feeling, rare in his case, a number of Cistercian Abbots whom he had summoned for the purpose of extortion went home unscathed, and comforted moreover by the promise that they should suffer no more from the predatory acts of the King's foresters.

* *Girald. Cambr.*, vii, p. 117. † *M.V.*, p. 376.

CHAPTER XIV

MIRACLES AFTER HUGH'S DEATH

A FEW miracles which were wrought by Hugh during his lifetime and some that took place at the time of his funeral have already been recorded, but many more took place after his death, in most cases at his tomb. These miracles, all of which happened in the years between his deposition in 1200 and his canonization in 1220, are well attested by contemporary authority. There are five sources altogether from which we derive our information, of which the first two are the most important.

1. Gerald de Barri wrote an account of twelve miracles wrought by Hugh, all of which took place before the time of the interdict (1208-13).* Then, at the request of Roger de Rolleston, Dean of the Cathedral, he added a series which took place during the time of the interdict. Gerald was on the spot, and his evidence is of particular importance.

2. In view of Hugh's canonization, a Commission was appointed by Pope Honorius III to inquire into the miracles alleged to have been wrought by Hugh both during his lifetime and after his death. This Commission consisted of Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury and John Abbot of Fountains. This Commission did its work towards the end of the year 1219, and the result of the inquiry, which was carefully conducted, only sworn evidence being accepted, was forwarded to the Pope. There is only one copy †

* *Vita S. Hug. Dist. II* (vol. vii, pp. 113 ff.). Referred to in this chapter as G.

† B.M., MS. Harl. 526, ff. 58*b*. Referred to as C.

of this document in existence, so far as I am aware, and this is not perfect, though the missing portion, which is apparently small and at the end, is not of very much importance.

3. *Legenda S. Hugonis.** This is one of a series of Lives of Saints contained in a volume written about the year 1300, and which belonged to the Benedictine Nunnery of Romsey in Hampshire. It is now in the British Museum. This life is divided up into seventeen capitula, and these were probably the lessons from the Martiloge read after Prime in the Chapter House. This Life is based upon the Report of the Papal Commission, but is not wholly dependent on it, and is sufficiently early to be important.

4. A series of lessons,† nine in number, and which therefore may have been intended for use at Matins, though they are so long that I think it is not likely that they were ever so used. These are headed *Miracula sci Hugonis Lincolniensis epi.,* and are unfortunately very imperfect, consisting of most of the first lesson, then comes a big gap to the conclusion of the sixth, from which point the remainder is complete.

5. A series of what are without doubt breviary lessons for Matins.‡ But here too there is a gap, for the seventh lesson has been left out by an inadvertence of the copyist.

The most convenient method to adopt in using this material seems to be to follow Gerald's list, noting where these miracles are also given in the other authorities, and then adding those which are derived from the remaining sources.

The first two of Gerald's list of twelve miracles have been already recounted. They are the incidents of the marvellous burning of the candles in spite of wind and rain during the bringing of the saint's body

* B.M., MS. Lands, 436, ff. 68 ff. Referred to as L.
† Bodl. MS. Tanner, 110, ff. 209 ff. Referred to as T.
‡ Bodl. MS. 57, ff. 16. Referred to as B.

from London to Lincoln; and the healing of the cancer in the arm of the knight of Lindsey by the touch of Hugh's finger as he lay in the choir of the cathedral awaiting his burial.

The third miracle is of the healing of the Dean of Marnam (Marnham in Nottinghamshire?), and this dates itself as having occurred in 1200–1. The Dean in question had been supping with a certain knight, and as he returned home afterwards, an abscess suddenly appeared on his face. The next morning he was very ill, so ill, in fact, that he sent for his friends, and after receiving the ministrations of the Church, made his will, believing that he had not long to live. The next night he became worse and his face swelled up to a horrible extent. On the third day of his illness he dreamed that he was present at Lincoln at the election of the new Bishop, and saw in his dream a knight producing a letter from the King asking for the election of a particular clerk. Then at once he seemed to hear a voice proclaiming that the clerk named was quite unworthy of the episcopal office. The voice then seemed to come nearer to him, and addressed him saying, "And as for you, why do you not mould an image in honour of the holy Bishop Hugh, that you may thereby be enabled to recover your health?" When he woke he summoned his friends to him by signs, and, as well as he could for weakness, asked for some molten wax to be brought to him. With this he began to mould an image of St. Hugh, and no sooner had he finished the head than the abscess went down, and his head was entirely freed from pain. The pains, however, went down to his feet, and he suffered a physician to apply a poultice to his feet at the desire of his friends, which, however, increased the pains so much that in agony he tore the poultice off. He then prayed with much devotion that God, through the merits of the blessed Hugh, would free him from suffering in his feet as He had done in his head, also asking for the restoration of

his son, who also lay very ill at the point of death. His prayers were heard and at once both of them, father and son, were healed and completely restored to health. The two of them at once, accompanied by their friends, went to Lincoln to visit Hugh's tomb to thank God for His mercy vouchsafed and to testify to their miraculous healing.

The fourth miracle is that of the woman Ineta, or Inetta, of Keles (probably East or West Keal by Spilsby), who, though she had recently heard a sermon from the Abbot of Flaye inculcating the duty of abstaining from servile work on the Lord's Day and on the eve, nevertheless did servile work one Saturday after Nones. Both her hands became at once contracted, so that the thumbs adhered to the palms of her hands. It was at once recognized that this visitation was the result of her impiety, and was notified to the parson, the Rural Dean, and to the Archdeacon of the place. At last she was urged by her friends to visit the tomb of St. Hugh and there seek relief. She went accordingly, and sought out the Subdean William who was the penitentiary, and made her confession, in particular accusing herself of this act of breaking the Lord's Day. The penitentiary seems to have discredited her tale, and tried by force to open her hands, but without success. From Lincoln, nearly demented, she went off to Canterbury to seek the help of St. Thomas, but as she slept there at the tomb heard a voice bidding her return to Lincoln, promising that she should receive restoration at the tomb of the blessed Hugh. Hastening back to Lincoln, she arrived there on Palm Sunday, and coming to the tomb, holding as best she could with her closed hands a lighted candle, she prayed fervently to God and the saint for her recovery. As she heard the Passion * read at the altar of St. John Baptist hard

* This possibly means a reading from the Life of St. Hugh. "Passion" properly on Palm Sunday would denote the Gospel of the Passion, but this seems to have been read before Mass.

by the tomb by the Subdean, who was to celebrate Mass there, first one, then the other, of her hands opened and was restored before the Mass was said. Those who were present were witnesses of the sign, and the miracle was proclaimed by the Precentor in the sermon that day. C. and T. relate this miracle at shorter length. T. calls the woman Alice. Both say that it was the custodian of the tomb who tried to open the woman's hand by force, and neither mentions any visit to Canterbury. L. tells the story briefly also, but with some difference. Her work was the washing of her child's clothes, and it was only the left hand that was affected.

The fifth miracle tells of the dropsical woman of Beverley, Matilda by name. Her affliction increased so upon her that at last she came to Lincoln, hoping there to obtain relief. There she stayed for a month, maintaining herself the meanwhile by spinning; but obtaining no benefit, made up her mind to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas. Before she set out, however, she went to the tomb of St. Hugh to take leave, as it were, and as she remained there long in prayer, was at length overcome by sleep, in which she heard a voice coming apparently from the tomb, saying, "Arise, woman, for you are healed." Arising with great joy, she discovered that her affliction had gone and she was once more slim in form, her girdle, which was of great girth owing to her obesity, slipping down at once to her feet. The fact of the cure was notified to the Chapter, who carried their inquiries so far as to write to the Chapter of Beverley to seek confirmation of the woman's story, and on being informed that it was true that she had been suffering grievously from a dropsy, the healed woman was taken in procession to the tomb of the saint, the bells were rung, and the miracle solemnly proclaimed. This miracle is also related in T., and very briefly in C.

The sixth miracle is the healing of a blind youth,

Symon by name according to T., who lived on the charity of the Canons and citizens of Lincoln. This youth had a thick film over his eyes, so that he could hardly close them. On the Vigil of Pentecost he came to the tomb, and passed the whole night there in prayer. He was found asleep about the first hour of the Sunday, and aroused, lest he should be trampled on by the crowd that began about that time to throng to the tomb. When he was awakened, a sort of matter flowed from his eyes, and he found that he could see. He proclaimed the fact aloud, giving thanks to God and St. Hugh. His cries of joy and his joyful antics soon attracted a crowd towards him, and he was conducted to the Dean and Chapter. He was known to many of the clergy and layfolk, and indeed the Dean himself had bestowed frequent alms on him. This miracle was promulgated to the people in the sermon on the day. It is added in T., which also recounts this miracle, that this youth was for many years after this cure maintained in the household of the Dean.

The seventh miracle tells of the healing of a mad youth of Ancaster. This youth was so violently affected that he had to be brought to the tomb in bonds. He was kept at the tomb for seven continuous days, getting gradually better day by day. On the Sunday he was given the Holy Sacrament at the altar of St. John Baptist by the tomb, and was at once restored to sanity. He went home carrying in his hands the fetters in which he had come to Lincoln, proclaiming that his cure was due to the merits of St. Hugh. Both his parents, accompanied by many friends and neighbours, hastened to Lincoln to give thanks to God, and make open acknowledgment of the great benefits received. This miracle is not recorded elsewhere.

The eighth miracle is of the healing of a blind man of Stubetre (Strubby by Langton?), who was brought to the tomb one Friday night after Evensong. He passed the night there, and in the morning was found

by the custodians and clergy rejoicing in that he could see, and praising God and St. Hugh. The chaplain of Stubetre was communicated with for verification of the man's assertion that he was blind, and on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin he, with many of the elders and more important inhabitants of the village, came and confirmed the story on oath to the Bishop, William de Blois. The Bishop, thus certified of the truth of the miracle, made solemn proclamation of it in his sermon to the people that same day. This miracle is not recorded elsewhere.

The ninth miracle is of the crippled girl of Wikeford (Wigford), named Alice. This girl dreamed one night that a man held her suspended in the air over some water and at length dropped her into it. In the morning her mistress was only with great difficulty able to rouse her, and then it was discovered that she was paralysed from her waist downwards, and unable to help herself. Her mistress had her borne to the tomb of the saint. About the first hour of the Tuesday after Palm Sunday the tendons of her legs and knees began to crack so as to be plainly heard by those who were standing near, and she found herself able to move first one leg and then the other. Rising, she gave thanks to God and St. Hugh. Many witnesses were able to come forward and testify on oath to the truth of her previous helplessness and her cure. This attestation of the facts took place on Easter Tuesday, 1206.

In connexion with this miracle a further incident occurred. Philip the Subdean informed the Dean and the rest of the Chapter that the night after this event he had seen a vision of a man of venerable appearance who bade him once and again to rise and go into the church immediately. He replied, in his dream, that he had but just come from the church, but his visitor enjoined him to rise and go into the church without delay, for the glory of God had come down from heaven into the church, and in particular on the

tomb of the holy Bishop Hugh. Waking out of his sleep, he rose and entered the church, and as he went in saw around the altar of St. John the Baptist and about the tomb of the saint a brightness such as he had never seen before. He believed this vision to have been sent him to convince him of the real sanctity of Hugh, of which he had previously had doubts, and became henceforth a great champion of the merits and virtues of the saint. Neither the miracle nor the vision is mentioned elsewhere nor has this Subdean Philip been identified.

The tenth miracle is concerned with the healing of a dumb boy of Wigford. This boy had been dumb for three years through some affection of the tongue, which adhered to the roof of his mouth so that he was unable to take solid food. He was maintained, we are told, by Adam the Mayor of the city, by Reimbald Rich, and various other citizens, and at their instigation was taken to the tomb on the Vigil of the Assumption. The lad spent the night there praying for recovery, and about the hour of Matins began to dance about the tomb uttering loud cries, and became so violent that two men could scarce hold him. At length, worn out by these exertions, he fell asleep for a time, and in his sleep had a vision of a most gracious lady and a venerable Bishop, who took him away to a fair and pleasant place, where the Bishop begged the lady, of her wonted gentleness and clemency, to loose the bond of his tongue. The lady assented to his prayers and lifting, as it seemed to him, his tongue with her finger, broke the bond by which it was confined. Immediately he awoke and leaping up, cried out in English, "Thanks be to God and St. Mary and St. Hugh for the recovery of my health," and with great devotion kissed the tomb repeatedly. A number of matrons who were keeping vigil at the tomb with their lamps were witnesses of the miracle, and soon spread the fame of it abroad. The Mayor, and Reimbald Rich, and many other citizens who had

been accustomed to give alms to the boy came forward and attested the fact of his dumbness on oath. The lad was then led in joyful procession to the tomb, where his healing was solemnly noted in the list of miracles there kept. This is also in T.

The eleventh miracle was the result of the last. A dumb boy of Pottergate, maintained like the last by the alms of the charitable, on the healing of the boy of Wigford becoming known, was taken by those interested in him to the tomb, and bidden to pray to St. Hugh for the restoration of his speech. He remained the night at the tomb, and when waked by people coming to pray in the early morning cried, "I give thanks to God and the blessed Hugh, for my power of speech is now suddenly restored to me." On this occasion also we are told that there were matrons keeping all-night vigil at the tomb, so the miracle was soon spread about. The Canons, as usual, made inquisition into the facts, and the chaplain of Pottergate testified on oath that the boy had been dumb, and had to his knowledge a very small malformed tongue. Others also gave like testimony. The usual procession was thereupon made to the tomb, and the bells were rung. This miracle is shortly referred to in T. without details, as similar to the foregoing.

The twelfth miracle took place shortly after the last. This was a case of a mad girl, also of Wigford, who was taken to the tomb bound on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, and remained there till the Feast of All Saints. Throughout the night of the Eve of All Saints this poor girl made such a clamour that it was impossible for Mass to be said at the altar of St. John the Baptist. Early in the morning she fell asleep, and when she was roused by the coming of worshippers, she was found restored to her right mind, proclaiming with a loud voice that her restoration was due to the merits of St. Hugh. This girl had been maintained by the alms of matrons of the city. On her recovery she learnt the Psalter, and was made by the Dean,

Roger de Rolleston, a nurse in the Hospital of Lincoln (probably that of the Holy Innocents), where she nursed the sick with great devotion. This miracle is not told elsewhere.

These twelve miracles which Gerald records seem to have taken place before the interdict. To them he adds another list of six more which took place during the interdict, that is, between the years 1208 and 1213, and which he enumerates at the request of Roger the Dean.

A certain knight John Burdet, who accompanied King John on his first expedition in 1206 into Poitou, at the siege of Montauban was struck with paralysis of the right arm. About a year after his return he came to Lincoln, and offered a waxen image of his paralysed arm on St. Hugh's tomb. After spending some days and nights in vigil at the tomb his arm began to get better, and gradually improved till he was completely recovered. He reported his cure to the Dean and Chapter in person. Roger Burdet was of Lindsey origin.

A woman of the name of Matilda, belonging to the parts of Lindsey, was struck blind in a storm. She had been a needlewoman, but being unable to pursue her calling in consequence of this affliction, became a beggar. Ultimately she came to Lincoln to seek the aid of St. Hugh, and for more than a year sat daily in the porch of the church opposite to the Deanery,* often praying at the tomb. On the Eve of Whit Sunday, 1208, she, with other afflicted persons, went to keep vigil that night at the tomb, Stephen the Dean's almoner himself leading her by the hand and giving her a candle to carry. One of the matrons of the city who made it their care to help her had had a vision in which she had seen this woman cured by St. Hugh. Most of the night she kept awake,

* This probably is the doorway, now long blocked up, leading out of the northernmost chapel of the north-east transept. Compare the healing of Alice, p. 177.

giving herself to prayer, but at last, worn out, she lay down, putting her head in one of the openings of the tomb, and so fell asleep. In her sleep she saw one arrayed in a bishop's vestments issue from the tomb, and going to the altar of St. John Baptist, celebrate Mass there. Mass ended, he returned to the tomb, and fanning her eyes with the corporals that he carried, poured some drops from the chalice into them, bidding her, "Arise." When she pleaded her disability, he repeated, "Arise, for you are healed." Waking, she found that she had recovered her sight, and gave thanks to God and St. Hugh.

A man of the name of John, an inhabitant of the village of Plumbard or Plumgard (Plungar in Leicestershire?), suffered from an open sore in his thigh so grievous that he was not able to walk a step. He was advised to betake himself to Lincoln to St. Hugh for succour, and after remaining at the tomb for some days, scraped some mortar from it with his knife, and applied it to the sore. The sore at once began to dry up, and within a short time the man was perfectly cured. The Dean sent one of the Vicars of the cathedral to Plumgard to inquire into the circumstances, and was satisfied by the testimony there given of the genuineness of the miracle.

A certain knight of the name of Milo belonging to the retinue of Richard de Sanford, took violent exercise three days after he had been let blood, with the result that his arm became very inflamed and an abscess resulted. He suffered intense pain, and rapidly became so ill that the physicians who attended him gave up all hope. While in this condition the wife of Richard de Sanford came to see him, and exhorted him to make a vow to God, St. Mary of Lincoln, and St. Hugh. This he did, praying devoutly to St. Hugh for recovery, and was at once restored to health. He journeyed to Lincoln after his cure, to visit the tomb of the saint and to give thanks there for his healing, and offered at the tomb a waxen image of the healed

arm. In the absence of the Dean he reported the miracle to Philip the Subdean, and it was published.

A young man of the name of John suffered from paralysis to such an extent that he was helpless from the waist downwards. He had lain for four years and a half in hospital at Lincoln without receiving any benefit, and at this time had subsisted as a beggar for a year and a half, living in a hut in the minster yard in front of the Precentor's house. Seeing so many cures wrought at the tomb of St. Hugh, on the Vigil of the Assumption he caused himself to be carried into the church and laid before the tomb, and during the night prayed earnestly for his restoration to health. Towards morning he fell asleep for a time. In his sleep he saw a vision of two clerks in white vestments preparing the altar of St. John Baptist for Mass. Then he saw a Bishop pass towards the altar, vested in his mitre and other bishop's gear, and of very beautiful appearance, who, as he passed him, said to him, "Arise." The young man in his dream answered, "How can I rise when I am not able to move from the spot where I lie?" The Bishop then proceeded to celebrate Mass, and after he had finished, returned, accompanied by his ministers, and as he again passed by where the sick man lay, said again to him, "Arise, I tell you, arise." The young man woke at these words, and felt as if a sword were piercing his knees and legs, but nevertheless, though feeling as if he were wounded all over, desiring to obey the command of this wonderful man, strove his uttermost to rise, and at once his knees and legs straightened themselves and he raised himself upright. At first, however, he found himself shaking and trembling, and fell headlong, but was able to get up again, and then found that he could stand securely. The hospital in which he had been was that of the Holy Innocents, and it so happened that some sisters of the hospital were keeping vigil at the tomb this night. When they saw him on his feet and walking, they loudly acclaimed

the marvel, giving thanks to God. The Precentor, Godfrey, was able to testify to the reality of this cure, since he had so long maintained the healed man, and the miracle was duly published. This miracle is also recorded in L. and T.

At the time of the proclamation of this miracle there arrived a Canon of Worksop from a cell called St. Margaret's Graves belonging to Worksop, to report yet another miracle. This miracle is not mentioned elsewhere. In the "province" of Len (Lynn?) a bedridden man saw St. Hugh in a vision as he had looked alive, for the man had known him, who said to him, "Go to the church of St. Margaret's Graves, and you will receive in that church the health which you desire." The sick man answered, "How can I go thither when I am not able to move from this place?" St. Hugh answered, "I will succour you." The man rejoined, "Sir, I am unknown to the Prior and convent of that place, and even if I were able to go to them, they would give no credence to my story." The saint answered him again, "Go with confidence and nothing doubting; for you shall say this as a token to the Prior, that when he last paid a visit to my tomb, on his way to Boston Fair, he prayed to me earnestly about a certain matter, and obtained what he prayed for." And he told the sick man what that matter was. The sick man woke with much joy, and securing a cart had himself borne to the cell. He gave the Prior the token, who was amazed inasmuch as he had told the thing to no one, and gladly admitted him into the church. That night, by the grace of God, and by the merits of the saint, the promised restoration to health was bestowed.

The Prior resolved that this wonderful thing should be reported at Lincoln, and the Canon sent to make the report arrived just at the time when the last miracle was being told to the Chapter. There were present at the time in Chapter, we are told, three dignitaries of the church, Godfrey the Precentor, Reimund Arch-

deacon of Leicester, and William Archdeacon of the West Riding (Stow), besides many others, clerks and lay.

In addition to these two series of miracles recounted by Gerald, a good many of which are also given by other authorities, there are also some recorded by the authorities which are not found in Gerald's lists. The following are taken from the Commission's Report.

John, a carpenter, and his wife told of the miraculous recovery of their son, who, after lying desperately ill for fifteen days, grew cold and stiffened and was laid out for burial. The mother, however, did not lose her faith in spite of her grief, and declared, "Even if my son had been buried, the Lord could restore him to me through the merits of St. Hugh." And she took a thread, such as is used for the making of candles, and measured the boy. (I do not quite understand the significance of this last statement, unless it was done in connexion with a vow she made, and which is not mentioned.) The priest had already been summoned for the funeral, when at the first hour of the day the mother suddenly noticed signs of breathing, and the boy came back to life and recovered. This is given in T.

A woman named Beatrice had suffered from dropsy for six months and came to visit the tomb. As she lay there in the night, not sleeping, she felt the "tumour" removed from her as if by a man's hand, and found that she was cured. There seems to be some confusion in this account, from the apparently contradictory references to the nature of her affliction.

Bigot de Cadonio told how one night he was attacked by a quinsy so large that he was unable to eat or speak and hardly able to breathe. He became so ill that he asked by signs for the last Sacrament, which he was hardly able to swallow. At length, when his case seemed desperate, he saw the saint in a vision, who touched his head and his throat. When he awoke, he found that he was completely cured.

While the inquisition into the miracles was being held at Lincoln, a knight, R. by name, came and told the Commissioners how he had suffered from a quinsy and coming to the tomb, after he had remained there for a little time a perspiration burst out over his face and neck, and the quinsy vanished.

A woman of Kildefeld, who had suffered from dropsy for some eighteen months and was so swollen that she could not walk, was brought to the tomb at Lincoln. There she suddenly vomited violently, and became at once slim and well again.

A married woman of Lincoln had been unable to bear children alive. Her maid dreamed that one "in canonical habit" appeared to her and, calling her thrice, said to her, "If your mistress were to make a waxen image of a boy and offer it in the church of the Blessed Mary in honour of St. Hugh, she would bear perfect children." The mistress gave heed to the vision, and did as she was told to do, and after this bore six sons safely. This is in T.

Another woman, Alice, who had been a cripple for three years and who was wont to sit in the porch of the church,* was carried to the tomb. She spent the night there, and fell asleep. When she woke, she felt her muscles stretched, and heard them crack loudly, and was for a time in very great pain, but at length was completely healed. One of the witnesses in this case was the landlord in whose house she had lived throughout the years of her affliction. This is in L., T., and B. T. and L. add the detail that a certain *serviens* of the church had tested the genuineness of this case by running a nail into the sole of her foot.

The wife of one William son of Lamfrann was much swollen with dropsy. She made a vow to visit the tomb of St. Hugh, and there drank water in which the ring of the saint had been immersed. She at once began to feel better and in two days was quite well.

* Compare the miracle of Matilda, p. 172.

This is an interesting reference to the sacramental ring of St. Hugh.

A woman named Margaret testified that she was paralysed to the extent that she had lost the power of speech and all use of her left side, and at the tomb of St. Hugh had recovered both her speech and the use of her limb.

A nobleman who was mad was brought to Lincoln. There he escaped and ran up to the top of the cathedral tower, only being got down with difficulty. For a month he remained quite mad, and then was brought to the tomb. After he had been at the tomb for some days, he fell asleep, and saw a vision of the saint in white vestments, who bade him, "Arise, and depart, for you are made sound." He arose, asked for food, and gave thanks, and was permanently sane. This is in T.

A man named de Rowelle was struck blind suddenly. After three weeks he betook himself to the tomb, and as he prayed before it while Mass was being celebrated, he recovered his sight. In T.

T. adds one miracle which is not given by any other authority. A templar was so desperately ill that his life was despaired of. He saw a vision of the saint blessing him, and when he awoke found himself well.

Most authorities add to the foregoing three unnamed paralytics who were cured at the tomb, but none of them gives any details.

Perhaps to these may be added the story told by Wendover,* how St. Hugh appeared in a vision to the Dean and warned him of the impending death of one of the cathedral clergy, which happened in accordance with the warning.

It will be noticed that all of these miracles at the tomb happened, it would seem, within a few years of St. Hugh's death. I do not know of any that is recorded later on. An official list of his miracles was kept at the tomb, but this has not survived.

* iv, p. 145.

Apart from the miracles themselves, the incidental circumstances are interesting and important. We are told that the tomb was on the left side of the altar of St. John the Baptist. It had in its base orifices large enough to enable one to put one's head inside. These were doubtless made for that purpose, so that those who sought a cure might be able to get as near the saint's body as possible and were quite usual in shrines. The sacramental ring was used for healing. Moreover, it was the custom for a considerable number of persons, especially women, it would seem, to keep vigil through the night there, and also for the sick to sleep before the tomb. This practice was pre-Christian, and was called " incubation " among the ancients, who sent their sick to pass the night in the temple of a healing god, that he might come and heal them. Some of these facts are important, as we shall see when we consider the place of the deposition of St. Hugh.

CHAPTER XV

CANONIZATION AND TRANSLATION

In March 1219-20 Hugh was formally canonized, and Pope Honorius III issued two Bulls, the former recording his Canonization and the second ordering his Translation.

The choir of the cathedral was aspidal at the east end as Hugh had built it, and now the lengthening of it was taken in hand, and the famous "Angel Choir" built to house the new shrine. The building of the "Angel Choir" was not finished till 1280, and at last in that year the Translation took place.

On his death Hugh's body had been laid, in accordance with his own instructions, in the chapel of St. John the Baptist. This chapel, Adam tells us, was situated on the north side of the church (*a boreali ipsius aedis regione*),* and is almost certainly the more northern of the two chapels in the north choir transept. Tradition identifies this chapel as the site of the deposition, and though this tradition is not easy to trace, it is not wise to despise local traditions in the absence of definite. But there are other circumstances which support this tradition. Within a few years of the death of St. Hugh this particular chapel was enlarged to a considerable extent with a square east end. Unhappily Essex, when he restored the cathedral in 1772, saw fit to rebuild this chapel on its original apsidal foundations. At the same time that the chapel was enlarged a doorway was pierced in the north wall,† which at that time was an external wall, though at a later date it was closed up when

* *M.V.*, p. 377.

† This would seem to be the porch alluded to in two of the miracles.

Photo. S. Smith, Lincoln.

VIEW OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL FROM N.E. SHOWING IN THE CENTRE THE EXTENDED CHAPEL IN N. CHOIR TRANSEPT SUBSEQUENTLY REMOVED BY ESSEX.

FROM A PRINT BY HOLLAR.

other buildings were added subsequently outside. The bases of both the pillars at the entrance of the chapel have been cut away, and probably the original tomb was situated just west of the doorway in the north wall. The screen is much later and probably the chapel was open from the west.

We have seen in the accounts of the miracles wrought at the tomb how not only did crowds of worshippers flock to it, but that it was customary for the sick to spend the night before it, and moreover there seems also to have been a number of people regularly keeping vigil there. So it is evident that a considerable space would have been required to satisfy all these needs, and this fact would explain the enlargement of the chapel soon after Hugh's death, and the style of the building shows that it was erected at that date. Moreover, in his account of the Translation Nicholas Trivet states that the body was translated to a spot farther east in the church (*ad eminentiorem locum*).* Everything points to the correctness of the tradition that this chapel is the site of the deposition.

The solemn Translation of the Saint took place on October 6, 1280, within the octave of St. Michael. The whole of the costs of the function were borne by Thomas Bek, Chancellor of the Cathedral, who on the same day was consecrated there as Bishop of St. David's. He was lavish in his expenditure, and the two conduits outside the western gateway of the Bishop's Palace ran with wine. The bells rang continuously from the third hour till curfew.†

A great and noble company were present at the Translation: King Edward and Queen Eleanor, Edmund Earl of Lancaster, the King's brother, and his wife Joan Queen of Navarre; the Earl of Gloucester,

* *N. Triveti Ann.* (E.H.S.), p. 303.

† A contemporary account of the ceremonies of the Translation, "probably written by some member or retainer of the Beck family," is printed by J. F. Dimock in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vii, 219 ff.

the Earl and Countess of Lincoln, and the Earl of Warwick; John Peckham Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Edessa, Oliver Sutton Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishops of Bath, Ely, Norwich, Worcester, Llandaff, St. Asaph, Bangor, and the Elect of Exeter; and two hundred and thirty knights, besides a great concourse of people.

The body of the saint was taken up from its original resting-place and "in his sepulchre was found a considerable quantity of oil, through the virtues of which many miraculous healings take place." * While the body was being lifted out of the coffin, the head came apart from it in Bishop Oliver's hands.

The Carthusian account † goes on: "Afterwards singing hymns and canticles, the clergy carried the venerable body into the vestry of the cathedral; and the head also was carefully taken up and dried, and both were left in safe custody till morning. A great quantity of pure oil was found in the sepulchre in which the saint's body had rested. The monastic habit which he wore when alive and in which he had been buried‡ was also found in a state of perfect preservation. On the next morning the Bishops and Canons returned to the place where the holy body had been left, and prepared to finish the solemn function of the Translation. During the ceremony it happened that the Bishop of Lincoln took up the head of St. Hugh and held it for a little while reverently before him. As he did so, a quantity of the same pure oil flowed from the jaw over the Bishop's hands, in spite

* *Peterborough Chronicle* (C.S.), p. 40.

† Dom C. le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis,* iv, 339. The account here given bears marks of having been written some considerable time after the event recorded.

‡ Adam expressly tells how the saint was buried in the pontifical vestments in which he had been consecrated. If he had had his Carthusian habit on underneath, Adam in his detailed account would hardly have omitted to say so. The account given in Surius is apparently derived from the *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis.*

of the fact that the venerable head had been dried carefully a few hours before, and had been found quite dry in the morning, and the oil continued to drip till the Bishop placed the head on the silver dish in which it was to be carried through the crowd. A solemn procession was then formed according to the custom of the Church prescribed on such occasions. There was an immense crowd of clergy and lay folk present. The Archbishop of Canterbury carried the head of the saint on a silver dish, and the holy body was carried immediately behind it. So the procession passed through the church to the spot where the shrine stood, richly adorned with gold and silver and precious stones, prepared for the permanent preservation of the body. The shrine was then raised on a pedestal of marble, elegantly carved and of a suitable height, and was firmly fixed and secured to its stone support. But the Bishop of Lincoln and the canons, etc., encased the head in a coffer of gold, silver, and precious stones, and placed it beside the altar of St. John Baptist in the same church, not far from the shrine of the body.* In this holy spot both head and body are venerated by clergy and lay folk, who there implore God's mercy through the intercession of his faithful servant."

The shrine was situated behind the high altar on the north, and its site is marked by the marble slab on four pillars that was devoutly erected to his neglected memory by Bishop William Fuller (1667–75). For some reason or other a theory has been started in recent years which regards this spot as the site of the deposition, but the evidence in favour of this being really the site of the shrine is beyond dispute. Bishop Fuller, no doubt, went by the survey made by Dugdale in 1641, and the latter says of the site of the shrine: " North of Dallison's tomb was y^e^ shrine

* When the body was removed from the original chapel of St. John Baptist, the chapel seems to have been moved with it, to a new site under the great east window.

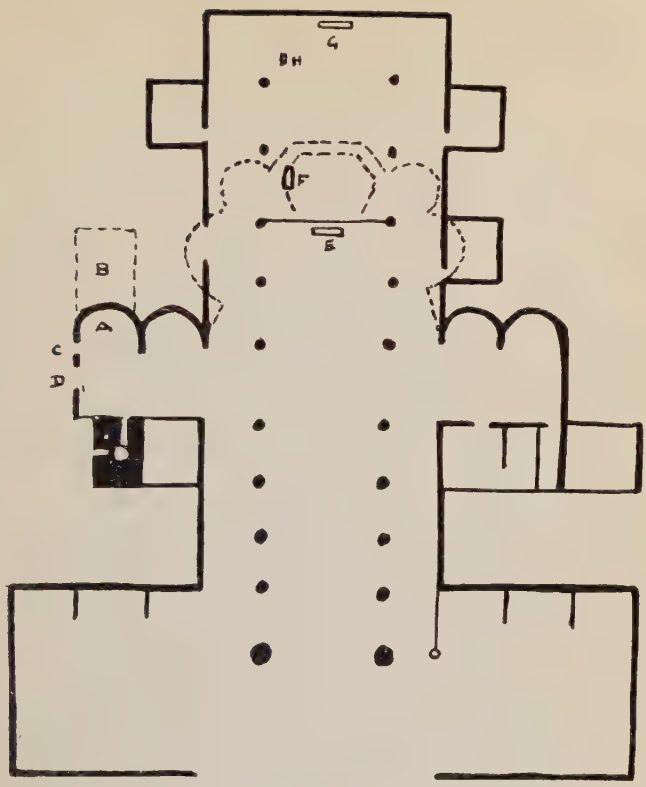
of St. Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, which you may find by y^e^ Irons fastened in y^e^ Pavement. It was made of Beaten Gold, and was in length viij foot and 4 foot broad, as is now to be seen. It was taken away by virtue of a Commission in K. Hen. 8^th^ time, 32^nd^ year of his Reigne. The Irons only now remaining." * Dallison's tomb was exactly in the middle behind the high altar.

But Dugdale was but repeating older evidence. In the Inventories of the Cathedral, still extant, and preserved in the Muniment Room at Lincoln, immediately after the end of the Inventory of 1536, there is a contemporary copy of the King's letter of 1540 ordering the spoliation of the shrines; and immediately after this, again in a contemporary hand, there is given a note of the treasures taken at that time, followed by this statement. "Ther were at that tyme twoe shrynes in the sayd Cath. churche the one of pure gold called S^t^ Hughes Shryne standinge on the backe syde of the highe aulter neare unto Dalysons tombe the place wyll easlye be knowen by the Iron yet fastned in the pavement stones ther. The other called S^t^. John of Dalderby his shryne was of pure sylver standinge in y^e^ south ende of the greate crosse Ile, not farre from the dore where y^e^ Gallyley courte used to be kepte." †

It is quite obvious that this is the source of Dug-

* From Linc. MS. 259, ff. 16, 17. This MS. is probably a copy of Dugdale's Survey and is independent of the drawings which he had made at the time. These were done at the instigation of Sir Chr. Hatton and are now in the possession of the Earl of Winchilsea. Sanderson's Survey of 1641 is also in the Cathedral Library (MS. 258). This was printed by S. Peck in his *Desiderata Curiosa,* reprinted at Lincoln in 1851. It contains also additions from Dugdale (which are not marked), with the result that quotations are often made from this account as being Sanderson's when they are not his but Dugdale's. For example, this statement does not occur in Sanderson in any form.

† Inventories of Plate, Vestments, etc., belonging to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary of Lincoln. Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. Chr. Wordsworth, 1892.



PLAN OF CHOIR AND GREAT TRANSEPTS OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

DOTTED LINE SHOWS ORIGINAL APSIDAL EAST END AS BUILT BY ST. HUGH.

A PROBABLY ORIGINAL CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST WHERE ST. HUGH WAS BURIED
B EXTENSION OF CHAPEL 1200-1220, REMOVED BY ESSEX IN 1772.
C EXTERNAL DOORWAY SINCE BLOCKED UP.
D DOORWAY TO CLOISTERS.
E HIGH ALTAR.
F SITE OF SHRINE, MARKED BY BP. FULLER'S MONUMENT.
G ALTAR OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST IN ANGEL CHOIR FINISHED IN 1280.
H BASE OF THE HEAD SHRINE.

(facing p. 184).

dale's statement, and this particular entry in the Inventory is about the year 1540 or so. In the face of definite contemporary statements like this it is absurd to doubt the site. It may be remarked that the irons referred to are the iron grille set about the tomb. We know that one was set up in 1308, and such irons existed round the shrines, for example, of St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Erconwald at St. Paul's and St. Cuthbert at Durham. It is also a matter of great interest to note that when the flooring of this part of the cathedral was renewed, fortunately one piece of the pavement was here left *in situ,* and this happens to contain one of the sockets in which the irons were fastened to the ground, the socket-hole still containing the lead.

The shrine was doubtless much like other shrines of the period, a base about three feet high on which would be erected canopy work bearing a slab on which would lie the body of the saint in its original coffin enclosed in a rich outer casing. This would be the feretrum or fertor in which the body would be borne about in procession, and covering this a sort of hearse which would be raised and lowered by a pulley from the roof. The shrine was of marble, but in the fourteenth century the upper part of it, which had originally been painted, was overlaid with gold by John Welburne the Treasurer, who also gave a new canopy or covering of wood.*

The head had from the first its own shrine,† the stone pedestal of which still survives and lay on the north-east of the shrine. The fertor or hearse of the head still survived till the time of the Great Rebellion, when it was utterly destroyed. This is shown in Dugdale's drawing, and is elaborately carved. It is not clear of what material it was, but was probably of

* On the upper part of the shrine facing north was a figure of St. Paul, and probably others.

† The separation of the head from the rest of the body was not uncommon. The same was done in the case of St. Richard of Chichester.

wood painted and gilt. The ridge on which it fitted is still to be seen on the base.

In 1364 the head was stolen for the sake of the silver and gold and precious stones with which it was adorned, and after being stripped of its valuable covering was thrown away. A crow kept watch over the head until the robbers were arrested and gave information as to where they had thrown it, whereby it was recovered. The robbers, after their sacrilegious theft, had gone to London and sold the proceeds for twenty marcs, but after being robbed of their ill-gotten gains on the way home, were arrested and hanged at Lincoln.* On its recovery the munificent treasurer John Welburne caused the head to be adorned anew with gold and silver and precious stones.

There were some other relics of St. Hugh, apart from the two shrines. In the Inventory of the fifteenth century there is a *pixis* mentioned containing relics of SS. Stephen, Marcellus, Marcellianus, Hugh, and others. There is also mentioned among the precious things sent up to London at the time of the spoliation, "a toyth of seint hugh closed in byrall with silver and gilt," and "oyle of seynt hugh in birrall closed with silver and gilt."

The offerings at the shrine, apart from the actual adornment of the relics, seem never to have been very large, comparatively speaking, and the shrine seems to have enjoyed only a local fame. In the first half of the fourteenth century the offerings averaged about £40–£50 a year, but in process of time they gradually lessened, until in the year 1516 they did not total more than £7 19*s.* 9*d.*, and in 1532, in which the last entry is made, they amounted to £6 4*s.* 5*d.* But the jewels and ornaments must have been of considerable value.

And now we come to the spoliation. In the year 1540 a letter from Henry reached the Dean and Chapter on the subject of the shrines. Unhappily at Lincoln at this time he found a willing instrument

* H. Knighton's *Chronicle*, ii, p. 120.

ready to hand in the knave George Heneage. This man had been Dean, but at this moment was Archdeacon of Taunton. He still, however, continued to act as if Dean, and he was certainly the chief actor in the shameful work of spoiling the cathedral of its treasures.

The letter is as follows:

Henry* the eight by the grace of god kyng of Yngland and off France defender of the fathe lorde of Irelande and in erthe imediatly under christe supreme heade of the churche of Ynglande, To our trusty and welbelovyd chaplain George Hennage, clerke, archdecon of Taunton, John Hennage, esquyre, and our welbeloveyd servaunts John Haleley and Robert Draper, gretyng. Forasmoche as we understande that ther is a certen shryne and dyverse feynyd reliquys and juellys in the cathedrall churche of Lincoln wherwth all the simple people be moche deceyvyd and brought in to gret superstition and idolatrye to the dishonor of god and gret slaunder of this our realme and perill of ther soulys, We lett you to wyt, that therfore beying myndyd to brynge our loveyng subiects to the right knowledge of the truthe takeyng awaye all occasions of idolatrye and superstition, For the speciall truste and confidence we have in your fidelytes, wysdomys and discrecions have and by thes presents do auctorise name assigne and appoynte you fowre, or thre of you, that ymediatly uppon the sight hereof, repeyryng to the sayd cathedral churche, and declaryng unto the deane, recidencyares and other mynysters that the cause of your commying is to take downe as well the sayd shryne, superstitiose reliques as superstitiose juellys, plate, copes and other suche like, as you shall thynke by your wysdomys not mete to contynewe or remain ther, unto the whiche we doubte not but for the consideracions afore rehersyd the sayd deane and residenciares with

* *Chapter Acts*, 1537–47, Linc. Rec. Soc., ed. by R. E. G. Cole, 1917, pp. 35, 36.

other wilbe conformable and willyng therunto, and so you to procede accordyngly; and to see the sayd reliques juellys and plate salvely and suerly to be conveyd to our towre of London unto our juell house ther, chargeyng the master of our juellys with the same. And further we will that ye charge and commaunde in our name the sayd deane and residenciares ther to take downe suche monuments as may geve eny occasion off memory of suche superstition and ydolatrye hereaftyr, strately chargeying and commaundyng all mayers, sheryffs, baylyffs, constables and other officers, mynysters and subiects unto whome in this case it shall apperteyne, that unto you and every off you as they shall be by you requyryd they be aydyng helpyng favouryng and assistyng as they will answer unto us for the contrary in ther perillys.

Yeven under our privey seale at our palace off Westminster the 6th day of June, the 32nd yere of our reigne.

[*Signed*] THOMAS ESSEX.

The above-written commission was exhibited and executed on June 11, 1540. A copy of this letter is also to be found at the end of the Inventory of 1536, with a note of the plunder which was forthcoming:

"Memorandum that by force of the above wryttyn comyssion there was taken owt of y^e^ sayd Cathedrall church of Lincoln at that tyme in golde ij^m^. vj^c^. xxj oz. [2621 oz.] In sylver iiij^m^. ij^c^. iiij^xx^. v oz. [4285 oz.].

"Besyde a greate nombre of Pearles and preciouse stones wych were of greate valewe, as Dyamondes Saphires Rubyes turkyes Carbuncles etc." *

Then follows the note on the two shrines which has been quoted above.

There is given in the Inventories a detailed list of the possessions of the head shrine made in 1520, when

* *Inventories*, p. 39.

Photo. S. Smith, Lincoln.

SHRINE OF THE HEAD OF ST. HUGH AS IT EXISTED TILL 1644.

FROM DUGDALE'S SURVEY.

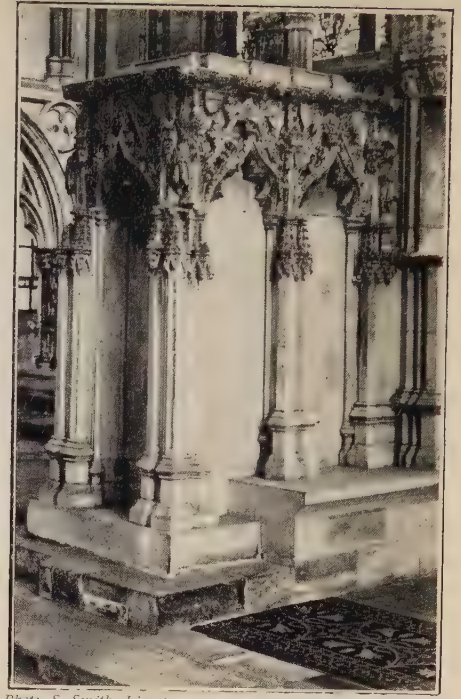


Photo. S. Smith, Lincoln.

BASE OF THE HEAD SHRINE.

(PRESENT DAY).

(facing p. 188).

the history of the shrine was committed to William Johnson.*

"Relikes Jewels and other stuff belonging to seint Hugh head deliuered to Sir Willm̃ Johnson the xxvijth day of Nouember / and ffirst the hede of seynt Hugh closed in silver gilt and enamelled. Itm̃ the mytre of [seint] Hugh of silver gilt and enamelled. Itm̃ the Pontificall of seint Hugh of gold with certeyn stones and relyks. Itm̃ a ring of gold with a ston and written Ecce lig[num]. Itm̃ iiij ryngs of gold with iiij preciouse stones belonging to the same hede. Itm̃ . . . of gold. Itm̃ thre old nobles and two ducates of gold nailed opon the bre[deth] of seint Hugh hede. Itm̃ a rynge of gold with one oriant saphir standing [opon] the top of the mytre of seint Hugh hede. Itm̃ two plaites of gold eith[er] with tre stones. [*In margin,* Thes two plaites of golde with vj stones on them er putt upon the shryne.] Itm two brauñches of gold with a braunch of corall u[pon] the shryn. Itm̃ a chales of seint Hughes siluer and gilt with the paten broke[n]. Itm̃ a toyth of seint Hugh closed in byrall with silver and gilt. Itm̃ oyle of seint [Hugh] in birrall closed with silver and gilt. Itm̃ two crewettes of birral closed with siluer gilt with covers the one lowse. Itm̃ two crewetts of birrall closed in siluer gilt with ij caises for them. Itm̃ iij stones in birrall. Itm̃ a saphir paile. Itm̃ a litell blew stoñ. Itm̃ ij quysshyns of silk one of them of rede satten browdered with byrdes and Bestes of gold Itm̃ legenda de temporali et de scis incompleta Itm̃ a booke called collectar Itm̃ a booke called cum animadverterem cu comento Itm̃ a Chist with one old cloth opon it with colere rede blew and gren Itm one old cloth called seint Hugh hede cloth Itm̃ one alter cloth of yelow silk Itm̃ ij candilstiks of pewter Itm̃ . . . candilstikes of wod Itm̃ a bake stoill Itm̃ a case to cary with candils in Itm̃ a Booke of seint Hugh life cheyned Itm̃ a book of sermones called . . ."

* *Inventories,* pp. 11, 12.

It will be noticed that these treasures belonged to the head shrine, according to the heading of the list, but probably they comprise the whole, the rest of the gold coming from the body shrine itself.

Apparently a mitre stood upon the head. I think that the second item may be not the Pontifical, but the pontifical ring, the word ring being omitted by accident. If so, it is probably the sacramental ring of St. Hugh. The chained Life of the saint has vanished.

These jewels then were sent up to the King's treasure-house at the Tower. Among them the head itself went to be stripped of its precious adornment. But what of the body? I think that there can be no doubt that it also went up with the head to the King's treasure-house.* It will be noticed that in the letter the Commissioners are bidden "to see the sayd reliquyes and plate safely and surely to be conveyde to owr towre of London," and a literal interpretation of this would certainly cover the body. It may be that the body itself was wrapped in precious materials.† At any rate, the body is not at Lincoln. In 1886 an excavation was made on the site of the shrine marked by Bishop Fuller's memorial monument to the saint, and there was found "a stone coffin . . . within which was another coffin of lead rather rudely put together and unsoldered. On opening this it proved to contain no human remains of any kind, not even a fragment of bone. There was nothing more than a decaying mass of linen and silken vestments, so arranged as roughly to simulate the shape of a human body." This is the account of Precentor Venables, who was present at the investigation. There are in the leaden

* I have no doubt that in this case both head and bones were burnt. This seems to have been the treatment which such relics received from the Civil Power, as is seen in the case of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

† See T. Charles Wall, *Shrines of British Saints*, p. 130. "Item in a longe cophyn wheryn byshopp Rychards bones were in lvi ymages sylver and gylt."

coffin clear traces of the "oil" which we are told was in it at the time of the Translation.

It is clear, then, that when the shrine was demolished, the body was taken out, and the coffins, with the exception of the outermost, which would be costly and precious, were buried on the site of the shrine. The decaying mass of linen and silken vestments is doubtless the remains of the vestments in which he was buried, and was left in the coffin. The body itself, either for the sake of precious encasements or in literal obedience to the King's letter, went up to London.

In this connexion it is interesting and important to note what happened in other parallel cases. At Durham at the time of the spoliation of the shrine of St. Cuthbert, the Commissioners found, to their disappointment, that the body was simply clothed in pontifical vestments and that there was nothing in the way of valuables on it. Under these circumstances they were not clear as to what was to be done, and removed the body to the vestry till they could receive instructions on the matter. Ultimately, "vpon notise of the kings pleasure therin the Prior and mounckes buried him in y^e^ ground vnder y^e^ same place where his shrine was exalted." * The same thing was done at Durham in the case of St. Bede. "The shrine of the holie S^a^cte Beede before mentioned in y^e^ Gallileie was defaced by y^e^ said visitors & at y^e^ same suppression, his bones being interred vnder y^e^ same place where his shrine was before erected." †

The case was very similar at Lincoln, but there the body was either encased in material of value, or else the King's letter was acted upon strictly without waiting for further instructions, and in either case the body went up to London with the head. The coffins, with the exception of the outermost, were reinterred in

* *Rites of Durham* (Surt. Soc.), 1903, p. 103.

† *Id. ibid.* The case of St. Edward the Confessor may be also adduced. Here only the top of the shrine was destroyed, and the body was buried near by.

the most obvious spot, the site of the demolished shrine.

Few remnants of the cult of St. Hugh remained, but in the fragmentary Certificate of Ornaments to the Queen's Commissioners 1565–6,* among the "bookes yett remaynyng," are mentioned "two bokes of the liffe of saint hughe." The stone base of the head shrine still survives, and the feretory, or a covering of the actual feretory—it is not clear which—survived till the time of the Great Rebellion. This may be referred to in either of two fragmentary entries in the Certificate of Ornaments:

Item a herse of tymber sett abo[ue] . . .
Item a tabernacle of wodde in the . . .

No memorial of St. Hugh remained in the cathedral church till Bishop Fuller piously erected his marble monument to the memory of the saint on the site of the shrine more than a hundred years after its demolition.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVI

A

THE BULL OF CANONIZATION

Honorius . Episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis filiis universis Christi fidelibus praesentem paginam inspecturis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Divinae dignatio pietatis, Sanctos et Electos suos in caelesti regni felicitate locatos, adhuc in terra miraculorum coruscatione clarificat; ut fidelium per hoc excitata devotio eorum suffragia digna veneratione deposcant. Cum igitur sanctae recordationis Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum, quem sicut nobis plenarie constat, diuini muneris largitas tam in vita quam etiam post vestem mortalitatis exutam, insignium miraculorum multitudine illustravit, Sanctorum catalogo adscripsimus, universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus apud deum ejus patrocinia devote imploretis. Ad haec statuentes ut die de-

* Chr. Wordsworth, *Inventories*, pp. 79 ff.

positionis ipsius, ejusdem festivitas annis singulis devote de caetero celebretur.

Data Viterbii, xiii calendas Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

(*R. Wendover* (*R.S.*), iv, p. 611.)

Item alia bulla de translatione ejusdem.

Honorius &c. venerabili fratri episcopo Lincolniensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum venerabile corpus beati Hugonis a loco in quo est transferendum sit et dignius collocandum, fraternitati tuae per apostolica scripta [mandamus] quatinus convocatis praelatis et aliis quos videris convocandos, corpus ipsum in locum opportunum cures cum debita et [....] solempnitate transferre faciens illud cum digna honorificentia collocari.

Dat. Viterbii pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

Girald. Camb. (*R.S.*), vii, p. 246.

The two Bulls were evidently published at the same time. In the Brownlow Life the two are combined into one.

B

The following statement is taken from the Memorandum on the munificent gifts made by John Welburne the Treasurer, who died in the year 1380. It occurs at the end of the MS. Welburne's Chartularies, Muniment Room, A. 1. 10, f. lxxix*b*.

"Qui eciam ut custos sancti Hugonis fecit reparari ij costas superiores feretri eiusdem cum uno tabernaculo sancti Pauli stantis in eodem ex parte boriali cum plato de auro puro que fuerunt preantea depicta. Et eciam canopeum nouum de ligno pro eo. Qui eciam post furacionem et spoliacionem capitis sancti Hugonis de nouo fecit cum auro et argento et lapidibus preciosis ornari et reparari."

C

Bishop William Fuller's inscription on his memorial slab:

Texerat hoc cineres, Aurum Non marmora, Praeda
Altera sacrilegis ni metuenda foret

Quod fuit argenti, nunc Marmoris esse dolemus.
Degeneri aetati convenit iste lapis.
Ingenium Pietatis hoc est frugalis, Hugonis
Qui condit tumulum, Condit et ipse suum.

D

NOTE ON THE ORIGINAL BURYING-PLACE OF ST. HUGH

The evidence on the site of the shrine goes back, as we have seen, to within a very few years of the date of its demolition, and is conclusive. It may be as well, however, to add a word or two on the theory evolved in recent times. This will be found set forth in the pamphlet *The Body of St. Hugh,* by the late Canon R. E. G. Cole and the late Dr. J. O. Johnston, Chancellor of the Cathedral. Here it is maintained that St. Hugh was originally buried in the north wall of the little chapel immediately east of the high altar of Hugh's Choir; or, in other words, that the spot identified by Bishop Fuller as the site of the shrine is really the site of the original burying-place of the saint; and the site of the shrine itself is somewhere near by.

Even if the evidence of tradition from the time of the demolition were not so incontrovertibly conclusive, and even if we were left to theories as to the site, the objections to this theory are very great. In the first place, Adam tells us that Hugh was buried in the chapel of St. John Baptist, which was on the north side of the church. The north wall of the easternmost chapel cannot come within this description. In the second place, if this is the site of the original tomb, then the Translation could only have been to a shrine a yard or two away, and contemporary records speak of the body being translated to a spot farther east in the church. It is difficult to see how, if this theory were correct, this little chapel could possibly hold the numbers of people who were constantly there, even all night, as we learn from the accounts of the miracles.

But the greatest of all the objections lies in the fact that if this theory be right, then the body of the saint must have been moved to allow for the extension of the choir for this Translation. It is inconceivable that this

should have happened and not a hint of any kind be given of the fact in any of the writers who tell us of the Translation.

Lastly, referring to the opening of the site of the shrine in 1886, and to the coffin containing a mass of fragments of linen and silken vestments, the late Chancellor remarks: "This is exactly what he should have expected to see in the grave in which St. Hugh's body lay from 1200 to 1280." As a matter of fact it is the very last thing anyone should have expected to see. Everything in the coffin in which the saint lay till 1280 was, when he was translated, a relic. It will be remembered how at his burial people in the crowd had attempted to cut little bits off his vestments as relics. Here were fragments of his vestments which had been in contact with the holy body for years. Not a fragment would have been left by the witnesses of the Translation in 1280. And the original coffin was in itself also a relic and in the ordinary course of things would doubtless continue to hold the holy body, though it would be encased in a more precious covering. It is strange how ready people are to evolve theories, instead of using and following the historical evidence that exists ready to hand.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

It remains to estimate the effects and influence of Hugh's saintly life. We know him well, so excellent are the contemporary materials for his life which survive.

In the first place his influence was not wide. His name and fame were confined to the parts in which he lived, and to those with whom he came into contact. He was well known, of course, at Court, and in the carrying out of those affairs with which he was entrusted from time to time by the King he had to deal with important people. Again, in his many judicial duties he met many folk, and as we know enjoyed great repute as one who could always be relied upon to do justice. But apart from those with whom he came into contact on these occasions, his vast diocese afforded more than sufficient scope for his energies, and demanded every moment of his available time. It is not surprising that under these circumstances he was not widely known. Nor was he remembered much after his own times, except in his own diocese.

In the diocese of Lincoln of course the two festivals, of the Deposition and of the Translation, were principal feasts, and there was, moreover, a weekly commemoration of him every Wednesday, in the same way that Saturday was a weekly commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But it was only in the diocese of Lincoln that he was so honoured. The Sarum Use, which had so great a vogue, kept only the day, and even that was shared between St. Hugh and St. Anianus, six of the lessons of the Breviary Office being allocated to

the former, and three to the latter saint. The Gilbertine Rite—and this is of considerable importance, inasmuch as the Order was of Lincolnshire origin and its Houses were nearly all within the dioceses of Lincoln and York—seems to have made not very much of the saint. We have no Kalendar of a date later than that of the Translation, but in the Ordinale there is no reference to St. Hugh whatever. As for the York Use, the name of St. Hugh does not appear in its Kalendar at all. This is all the more noticeable in that his contemporary, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, whose whole life was confined to the diocese of Lincoln, finds a place in the York Kalendar alone beyond that of Lincoln. This proves that St. Hugh was commemorated only in the diocese of Lincoln, except for a very secondary commemoration in those regions where the Sarum Use was in vogue.

Again, there seem never to have been many copies of the Great Life in existence. The Library of Lincoln Cathedral possessed one copy. This library seems not to have possessed at any time a copy of the *Metrical Life,* nor even that by Gerald of Barri, unless it was included in the volumes presented by Gerald, which did not stay there long.

But more noticeable than ever is the fact that in all England there is only one church with an ancient dedication to St. Hugh, that of Quethiock in Cornwall, and it is not certain that this dedication even is of St. Hugh of Lincoln. It may be argued that by 1200 the parochial system was more or less perfect, and there was very little done in the way of building new churches, but it is only necessary to reply to this argument by pointing to the number of dedications to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

To these facts one more piece of evidence may be adduced, that until comparatively modern times the name of Hugh of Lincoln has constantly been confused with other saints bearing the same name.

It is in modern days that St. Hugh's memory has

attained the high place that it deserves. The saint appeals to us for his great courage and absolute fearlessness, for his sincerity and transparent honesty, for his unselfishness and love of his fellow-men, his Christlike gentleness and, when necessary, his stern severity. He never spared himself; he never failed anyone in need of help or sympathy; he never neglected in the least degree his duty nor forgot for one moment the great responsibilities of his high office as Bishop. He must have possessed a most charming personality to retain the love and affection of such men as old King Henry and King Richard, and the respect of such a man as John, and to be able to influence them for good whenever he had personal intercourse with them. His life, too, as Bishop was a shining example to his fellow Bishops in days when such an example was badly needed.

He was not perfect, and sometimes made mistakes. Who, even of God's saints, has not? He began his episcopal life with serious drawbacks. He was not an Englishman, and it took some time for him to get to understand the mentality of the Englishman, and indeed to the end of his life he never seems to have known enough English to understand the English-speaking peasantry. But if he was not an Englishman, no more was he a Burgundian. He was simply a Churchman, for his monastic upbringing from his tenderest years left him without any sense of nationality or of patriotism.

This brings us to his attitude towards the civil powers. He believed that the Church and its ministers had no duties to the State, and that the Church should not obey the laws of the land if they seemed in any degree injurious to the Church. He held that the Church should be absolutely free, that is, entirely untrammelled by any control of any kind or any interference on the part of the State. It must be remembered that these same views were held by all the most spiritually-minded men of that time. But such for-

got, in the first place, that they were only the minority. As Richard remarked, if only all Bishops had been like Hugh, Kings and Princes would have taken a very different attitude towards the Church. But all Bishops were not by any means like Hugh, and Richard himself had his difficulties even with Hugh. In the second place, those who demanded the complete freedom of the Church did not perceive that in this case the only logical thing for the Church to do would be to give up its endowments. All endowment at that time consisted in land, and no other form of endowment was possible or even conceivable. In a feudal State all land had its obligations, and if a Bishop possessed estates which would maintain a Baron or an Earl, obviously in virtue of the estates he held he had his obligations to the State, just as much as his temporal brother had, and the State could not afford to forgo these obligations. It is difficult for us in these days to realize the difference of circumstances under which men lived in feudal days, but it is necessary to do so if we are to estimate properly the position of the Church with regard to the State, and what would otherwise appear to be the unwarrantable attitude of interference which the State showed towards the Church. Hugh may have been right or he may have been wrong in his views, but he was honest and conscientious in them, and acted fearlessly in accordance with what he believed right.

One more fact calls for notice. St. Hugh took the Cross at Geddington, as we have seen, but the *Magna Vita* does not mention once his attitude towards the Crusades. It will be remembered that one of his rules of life was to give his full attention to the matter in hand, and he had much to do for which he as Bishop was responsible, and indeed not enough time to do what he thought necessary. Such an attitude would quite explain his apparent coldness to the Crusades. It may also be added that the experience which good men like Archbishop Baldwin had of the actual conduct of

the Crusades must have cooled the enthusiasm of many.

I have tried to picture Hugh as he was, without sentiment and without bias. Of the holiness of his life there can be no doubt. He was no less a man because he was a saint, and no less a saint because he was a man. He lived a consistently Christian life, an example to those of his own and all generations, to the great glory of God.

In the Church of England, and in particular in his own diocese, he must always possess a place of exalted honour, for among the many saints whom England has produced there are few of whom she may be more justly proud than St. Hugh of Lincoln.

LITURGICAL APPENDIX

The Masses for the Day and the Translation of St. Hugh given below are from a Missal of the end of the fourteenth century, now in the possession of the Gentleman's Society of Spalding, and from MS. Add. 11414 of the British Museum. The former of these is a Sarum Missal, and was probably written for use in Oxford, then in the diocese of Lincoln. The University of Oxford was bound by Statute to the Sarum Use. The second MS. is a Missal that has at some time been adapted to the Sarum Use, a considerable number of prayers having been erased and the Sarum prayers written over the erasure. It has, moreover, some additional matter roughly written at the end, and reference to these additions is made by the same hand in the margin of the book. I give the Spalding text of the Mass for the Translation:

In Translacione Sci Hugonis

Officium. Gaudeamus omnes in domino diem festum celebrantes sub honore hugonis presulis de cuius translacione gaudent angeli et collaudant filium dei *Ps.* Misericordias domini : in eternum cantabo. *uel* Statuit ei.

Oracio

Deus qui hunc diem translacionis sancti hugonis confessoris tui atque pontificis nobis concedis solennem : presta quesumus ut ipsius optentu a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus absoluti ad celi gloriam transferamur per . *deinde fiat memoria de sca fide oracio.* Deus qui pres . *ut supra.*

Ep. Dilectus deo.

Gr. Domine preuenisti.

All. ℣. Iustus germinabit.

Sequencia

Spirat odor renouatus ut iuuentus aquile
Patris almi presulatus hugonis christicole.

Qui in uere solis lumen carnis uigens serie
Uisus sustulit acumen contemplantis specie
Probant signa fide digna uiri dei titulos
Uite morum meritorum que patent ad oculos
Cleri flores accerciuit ad honores quos audiuit fama uere perditos
Sanctus rite cenobita sanctos uite legit ita dei sorti deditos
Sic sarram non sarray principem uocauit
Non maran sed noemi domino ditauit
Uigeat ecclesia tali presulatu redolet lincolnia patris patronatu
Ubi sacerdocium uirginis marie floret et obsequium iugis armonie
Salue uirgo uirginum reos mendis criminum nos mundans emenda
Et in tui presulis meritorum titulis iugiter commenda.

Euang. Uidete uigilate.
Offert. Ueritas.

Secreta

Munera quesumus domine que nos translacionis sancti hugonis confessoris tui atque pontificis recolentes tue offerimus maiestati tibi placeant: nobisque ad salutem proficiant animarum. per.
Com. Beatus seruus.

Postcommunio

Salutis perpetue pabulo saciati quesumus domine deus noster : ut beati hugonis confessoris tui atque pontificis uirtutes nos undique illustrent cuius translacionem celebramus solennem. per.

The B.M. MS. states simply of the Translation (f. 238) *omnia sicut in alio folio preter or. que erit* Deus qui hunc diem *queratur in fine lib. et seq. et postcom.* On f. 307 are given the three prayers as above.
The following Mass *de Die* is from this MS. (f. 244).

In Natali Sci Hugonis Linc. Episcopi

Officium. Statuit.

Oracio

Deus qui beatum hugonem confessorem tuum atque pontificem eminencia meritorum et claritate signorum excellenter ornasti: concede propicius ut eius exempla nos prouocent et uirtutes illustrent. per.
Ep. Dilectus deo.
Gr. Domine preuenisti.
All. ℣. Iustus germinabit.

Sequencia

Sonent munde mentis uota
Sint per uocem uota nota
Sit uox dulcis. mens deuota.
In hugonis laudibus.

Hic felici uixit uita.
Cartusiensis cenobita.
Carnem terit heremita
Cilicinis uestibus.

Probant signa fide digna.
Uiri dei titulos.
Uite morum meritorum.
Que patent ad oculos.

Gradum scandens dignitatum
Withaniensem prioratum
Primo rexit presulatum
Post nactus lincolnie.

Set non martha contemplantem
Nec maria laborantem
Prepediuit tot liberantem
Labores ecclesie.

Templi chori plebis iura
Pastorali rexit cura.
Probat cuius sepultura
Meritorum premia

Huius membra celebrantes
Gaudeant per secula
Qui cum deo est insignis
Presul dignus et cum dignis
Nos ducat ad gaudia. Amen.

Eu. Uidete uigilate.
Off. Ueritas.

Secreta

Prolata tibi munera quesumus domine beatus hugo confessor tuus atque pontifex prosequatur : ut meritis eius adiuti per ea gratiam et gloriam consequamur per.
Co. Beatus seruus.

Postcommunio

Nostre seruitutis obsequia quesumus domine beatus hugo confessor tuus atque pontifex tibi reddat accepta:

ne sacramenti celestis effectum reatus noster a nobis excludat . per.

Et fiunt octaue eius cum regimine chori et seruicium de eo . nisi in octauis sci Martini.

In the three MSS. of the Sarum Missal edited by Dr. Wickham Legg, one gives the Collect as above, the rest of the Mass being supplied from the Common of a Confessor; the second gives the Mass as above, the Sequence being provided out of the Common; the third gives no Mass at all.

B

The Episcopal Benediction for St. Hugh is found in the Benedictional of the sixteenth century written for the use of Bishop John Longlonde (1521-47), and also in the Collection of Benedictions attributed to Archbishop John Peckham. I do not know of its existence elsewhere. It would, of course, be used at Lincoln when the Bishop celebrated Mass pontifically. Perhaps the fact that Peckham was present at the Translation of St. Hugh accounts for the inclusion of the Benediction in his Collection.

Sancti Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. Benediccio

Suorum sacerdotum spes et gloria Christus autor fidei uestre uobis egregii antistitis hugonis tribuat solempnia non inaniter celebrare. *Amen.*

Det uobis sancte religionis obsequiis per ipsius doctrinam sic extrincecus fatigari ut spiritualium fructuum possitis intrincecus deliciis saginari. *Amen.*

Quo suorum participes meritorum suis suffragantibus precibus coheredes esse ualeatis indeficiencium gaudiorum. *Amen.*

Quod ipse prestare dignetur.

C

The Lessons for Matins which follow are taken from Bodl. MS. 57, ff. 16 sqq. Unfortunately the seventh lesson has been omitted by inadvertence. There are also in another MS. at the Bodleian (Tanner 110) a very

imperfect series of nine lessons. But these are so long that I have great doubts whether they were ever used for Matins. In the Sarum Breviary, where St. Hugh shares November 17 with St. Anianus, the first three and last three of the lessons are of St. Hugh, the middle three of St. Anianus. Both sets of lessons are based on the Report of the Papal Commission, but they are not the same.

Sancti Hugonis Episcopi Lincoln

Deus qui beatum Hugonem (*etc.*).
Inuitatorium. Unum deum in trinitate.
Ps. Uenite.
Ymnus. Iste confessor.
Ant. Beatus uir.
Ps. Ipsum . *&c. in comm. j. conf. et pontif.*

Lectio j

Sancte recordacionis Hugo quondam lincolniensis episcopus . de remotis finibus imperialis burgundie nobilitate generis satis clarus a parentibus eciam ordinis militaris estitit (*sic*) oriundus. Qui ab annis teneris studio litterarum addictus cum decennium attigisset . monasterio traditus est disciplinis regularibus inbuendus . ubi tam in uita quam in scientia sic profecit . quod cum sexdecim esset annorum ad regimen cuiusdam celle uocatus . ibi suscepit officium prioratus. Domare tamen uolens amplius carnem suam . elapso tempore modico . ad ordinem cartusiensem domino disponente transiuit. Ibique domino misericorditer eius opera dirigente . cum clareret excellenter titulo meritorum . et incremento uirtutum . paruo post tempore domus curator est factus.

ij[a]

Interea rex anglie illustris Henricus domum quandam cartusiensis ordinis construxit in anglia cuius promocionem ardenter optabat. Unde precibus multiplicatis optinuit . utad regimen domus illius curator cartusie uocaretur. Qui cum officium illud fuisset adeptus . sanctitatem priorem de die in diem nouis studuit meritis ampliare. Unde idem rex qui lincolniensem per multos

annos in manu sua retinuerat pastoris solacio destitutam . redimere cupiens sicut creditur illud malum sicut honeste potuit procurauit ut per electionem canonicam uir supradictus ad regimen illius ecclesie uocaretur. Quo facto . prima nocte in qua in episcopatu suo post consecrationem suam dormiens quieuit . post matutinas et deuotas orationes in sompnis audiuit uocem dicentem sibi. Egressus es in salutem populi tui . in salutem cum christo tuo.

iij[a]

Ecclesiam autem suam ita meritorum titulo illustrauit . ita plebem sibi commissam uerbis informare studuit et exemplis . quod episcopi nomen sibi recte competere bonorum operum testimonio ueraciter ostendebat. Nec iuxta uerbum propheticum syon in sanguinibus edificare studuit . set ex uiuis lapidibus construebat . electos in ecclesia sua collocando personas. Uir itaque iste dum uiueret domos leprosorum per quas transitum faciebat ingredi consueuit et omnes uiros leprosos quamcunque deformes osculari. Uolens autem probare hanc humilitatem egregiam bone memorie Willelmus quondam lincolniensis ecclesie cancellarius . dixit . Martinus leprosum osculando sanauit . uos quos osculamini non sanatis. Episcopus autem incontinenti respondit . Osculum Martini carnem sanauit leprosi . osculum uero leprosi animam meam sanat. In sepeliendis eciam mortuis tam diligens erat et deuotus quod nullum mortuum preteribat . cuius sepulture ministerium sibi competens impendere non curaret. Unde retributionem ei condignam domino procurante die qua sepeliendus lincolniam delatus est. Rex anglie . et Rex scocie cum tribus archiepiscopis et multis episcopis et abbatibus tam ordinis cisterciensis quam alterius . comitibus quoque et baronibus in primo ciuitatis lincolniensis ingressu corpori occurrerunt . illud in humeris suis ad ecclesiam deferentes exequiis autem pontificum ministerio celebratis . mane uenerabile corpus tradiderunt honorifice sepulture.

iiij[a]

Dominus autem noster ihesus christus qui in sanctis suis semper et ubique gloriosus est . uitam sanctam

famuli sui moresque commendabiles sibi placere demonstrans . sanctum suum eciam miraculis dum adhuc uiueret ita declarauit . ut uariis diuersorum languoribus per sancti uiri merita medicinam pararet et salutem. Accidit autem in uita sancti uiri quod cum circa gregis custodiam parochiam peragraret . parentes cuiusdam parui qui partem lamine ferree lucentem et acutam manu receperat et more puerorum ad os tulerat . que introlapsa gutturi firmiter adheserat . ipsaque in ultimo uite articulo positum . episcopo benedicendum optulerunt. Quem recipiens episcopus tangensque guttur eius benedixit . insufflauit . ac dimisit. Statim cum recessissent ab episcopo . ferrum sanguinolentum a gutture et ore parui exiluit . et sanatus est puer ex illa hora. Quodam eciam tempore cum transiret episcopus per quandam uillam . rogatus est ut quendam furiosum pre insania durissime ligatum uisitare et benedicere dignaretur. Statimque de equo desiliens accessit ad ipsum. Ibique aqua benedicta . ab ipso confecta . infirmum linguam eminentem quasi episcopum deridentem aspersit . et euangelium scil. *in principio erat uerbum* super eum legit . benedictionem dedit et recessit. Confestim cepit egrotus dormitare . et euigilans per graciam dei restitutus est sanitati.

v

Debilis quidam ex utraque parte claudus solo tactu cophini suis ex desiderio humeris applicati . in quo sanctus pontifex lapides et cementa deferre solebat ad fabricam matricis ecclesie . firmissimo et erecto restitutus est gressui. In ciuitate lincolnie ciuis quidam in tantam incidit amentiam . quod uxorem suam et proprios liberos dentibus laniare minabatur. Quem cum episcopus uix multis hominibus et uinculis detentum ad se fuisset adductum (*sic*) . statim eum aspersit aqua benedicta et spiritum malignum adiurauit ut ab eo exiret ipsumque ulterius non uexaret. Eeger (*sic*) uero incontinenti in terram cecidit . iterumque aspersus aqua . statim surrexit in hec uerba prorumpens. Deus gratias tibi ago de sanitate mea et tibi beate episcope. Qui solutus a uinculis ulterius a demonio non uexatur. Cuiusdam eciam matrone Lincolniensis ciuitatis duo filii quorum unus tumore grandi in dextro latere . alter paulo post hictriciam periclitabatur .

sola benedictione tactu intercessione sancti pontificis plene sanati sunt.

vj

Uir itaque sanctus completo in obsequio dei anno pontificatus sui quarto decimo in urbe londoniarum apud uetus templum in domo sua cepit infirmari et cum in lecto egritudinis iam aliquandiu accubuisset . set usque ad mortem magis ordinis cartusiensis austeritatem obseruare uoluit . tandem uocante domino feliciter ab hac uita migrauit ad dominum. Mirabile quoque accidit cum corpus ipsius defferretur . uidelicet . quod cum cerei in exitu ciuitatis Londoniarum ante corpus ipsius fuissent accensi . per quatuor dietas iugiter arserunt . licet tempus in uento et pluuia multociens esset. Item cum corpus ipsius in ecclesia lincolniensi adhuc iaceret humandum . miles quidam cuius brachium cancer ita corraserat . quod iam os apparebat eodem brachio suo corpus et faciem sancti uiri curacionis gracia non sine lacrimis tangebat . statimque a domino meritis sancti uiri restituta est sanitas . mirabile dictu . tam caro quam cutis et miles integerrime curatus.

Euangelium . Uigilate et orate.

lectio viij'

Puer quidam paruulus per quindecim dies egrotans ad mortis deuenit periculum. Cumque sic more mortui dispositus iacuisset a tempore gallicantus usque ad diluculum . mater cuius fides inter lacrimas non fuerat extincta cum filio cum multa fiducia dixit. Eciam si humatus esset filius meus . posset eum mihi dominus restituere per merita sancti Hugonis. Acceptoque filo faciendis candelis ydoneo . cepit puerum mensurare. Porro circa horam diei primam deprehendit in puero motum palpebrarum . flatumque restitutum magnificans deum et sanctum episcopum . cuius hoc meritis ascribebat. Item adolescens quidam de partibus Lincolnie adeo paralisi percussus erat ab umbilico inferius . quod nullum habuit usum crurium . seu tibiarum . et in hac languescens egritudine per quatuor annos et dimidium . uigilia assumpcionis . beate marie se portari fecit ad tumbam sancti pontificis. Ubi cum tota nocte pia fudisset precamina .

cum mane parumper obdormisset . uisum ei fuit in sompnis quod episcopus quidam uultu et statura uenustus mitratus episcopalibus competenter indutus . precepit ei surgere . qui ad hanc uocem cruribus et tibiis extensis . sese ad stacionem erexit. Sed nutans in primis et titubans protinus in terram corruit . iterum per se surgens . firmius stare cepit. Qui multo post tempore sanus existens . in atrio ecclesie habitabat.

lectio Nona

Mulier quedam paralitica ab umbilico et inferius ita quod sese de loco mouere non poterat ad tumbam sancti uiri cum oracione prostrata lacrimisque perfusa aliquamdiu perstitisset . auditus est a circumstantibus ossium ipsius mulieris fragor non modicus tanquam uiolentiam pateretur. Et sic per merita sancti uiri dominus eam plene curauit. Alia quoque mulier percussa paralisi in sinistra manu ita quod tota illa manus emarcuit usque ad cubitum . admonita est in sompnis ut in medio foramine tumbe posita . diceret nouies oracionem dominicam . et recuperaret sanitatem. Quo facto . antequam nonam expleret oracionem prius mirabiliter afflicta tandem obdormiuit . et cum euigilasset . uidit manum suam totam rubeatam et curatam. Tres quoque alii paralitici quorum curationem non per breuitatem constringimus ad sancti uiri corpus plene sanati sunt. Quorum unus loquelam et usum tocius partis amiserat. Alter uero ore ad aurem conuerso et uno oculo sursum eleuato . altero quoque depresso . mediaque parte corporis debilitatus plene restitutus est sanitati. Et licet aliorum multorum multiplici miraculorum euentu dominus eum decorauerit . que pro sui (*sic*) multitudine non possent sub breuitate enarrari . hec nunc sola caritati uestre duximus proponenda . ut hodierne solempnitatis contemplacioni nobis liceat diucius immorari . ad laudem domini nostri ihesu christi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat.

Cetera omnia de communi . j. confessoris et pont.

℣. Ora pro nobis beate Hugo.

℟. Ut digni efficiamini &c.

In the Sarum Breviary, vol. iii, p. (xxii, xxiii), Chr. Wordsworth gives two sets of lessons for the Trans-

lation from MSS. at St. John's College, Cambridge. In the first, only the first three are of St. Hugh; in the second, the first and last three. They differ from the above and from each other.

D

Dimock prints a Memorial from the Brownlow MS. (*Gir. Cambr.*, vii. pp. 246, 7).

Ant. O quam grata dei pietas pia gratia. Quanto
Fenere retribuit meritorum premia sanctis
Aeternaque breves mercede remunerat actus
Haec indeficiens Hugonis gloria pandit.

℣. Elegit sibi Dominus uirum de plebe.

℟. Et claritatem visionis aeternae dedit illi.

Oremus. Deus qui beatum Hugonem (*etc.*).

E

Lastly, I give two hymns composed by William Wheteley. I do not think that they were ever used liturgically. I hope they were not, for they are very bad. On the other hand, there is an interest attached to them as they are of local composition. William Wheteley, who was master of the Grammar School at Lincoln, wrote them, as he tells us, at Christmas-time, 1316.

I

Producens celice
Pater ingenite
Plantum iusticie
In regno francie
Qui se dum artauit
Mundo dilatauit
Trans mare tendens palmites.

Gerens uices confessoris
Hugo fuit saluatoris
Uas immense gracie.

Uas electum . uas honoris
Post acceptum uas candoris
Uas celestis glorie.

Ab eterno uas prouisum
Uas insigne uas excisum
Manu sapiencie.

Uas dulcoris . non fetoris
Uas saporis non acoris
Uas mire fragrancie.

Creuit in insula
Quadam angelica
Diuina gracia
Mox illic inserta
Cuius nunc petimus
Te sacris precibus
Crescamus ut uirtutibus

Columpna nobilis
Condam * ecclesie
Factus iam aulicus
Celestis curie
Succurre miseris
Miseris succurre
Conferens donum glorie.

Aue uox que poterit
Lingua retexere
Heccine gaudia
Uite uranice
Quis te coronauit
Deus qui amauit
Hugo flos penitencie.

Penitens nituit
Colore duplici
Intus in anima
Candore uiuaci.
Foris in corpore
Pallore tenaci
Se iungens deo simplici

Sit patri gloria
Laus benediccio
Qui sibi prestitit
Uite naufragio
Natare sic salo
Ut cum sparso malo
Regnaret dei filio.

II

Est hugo de burgundia
Excelsa christi gracia
Sublimatus in anglia
Pontificatus infula.

* Quondam.

Humo plasmatus arida
Irroratur aerea
Humiditate frigida
Ardet natura ignea.

Uite sancti principiis
Mortis uersis mellifluis
Hugonis sine dubio
Est simplex generacio

Gloriam summis hic figens
Ficta ymis reperiens
Carthusiensem ordinem
Subegit mox asperimum.

Odas canunt altissimo
Assumpto ex exilio
Hugone ciues superi
Ad asylum dei ueri.

Splendor quo regitur uigetque celum
Uitat obscuras anime ruinas.
Hanc si quis poterit notare lucem
Candidos phebi radios negabit.

Eterna christi munera
Hugo figens memoria
Leprosis dedit oscula
Et sensit illa dulcia . . .

Superna ergo procura
Nobis prece continua
Nunc apud qui te dominum
Fecit pastorem gencium.

Tibi patri deo uero
Laus honor sit et filio
Cum spiritu parclito
Finem iungens principio.

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